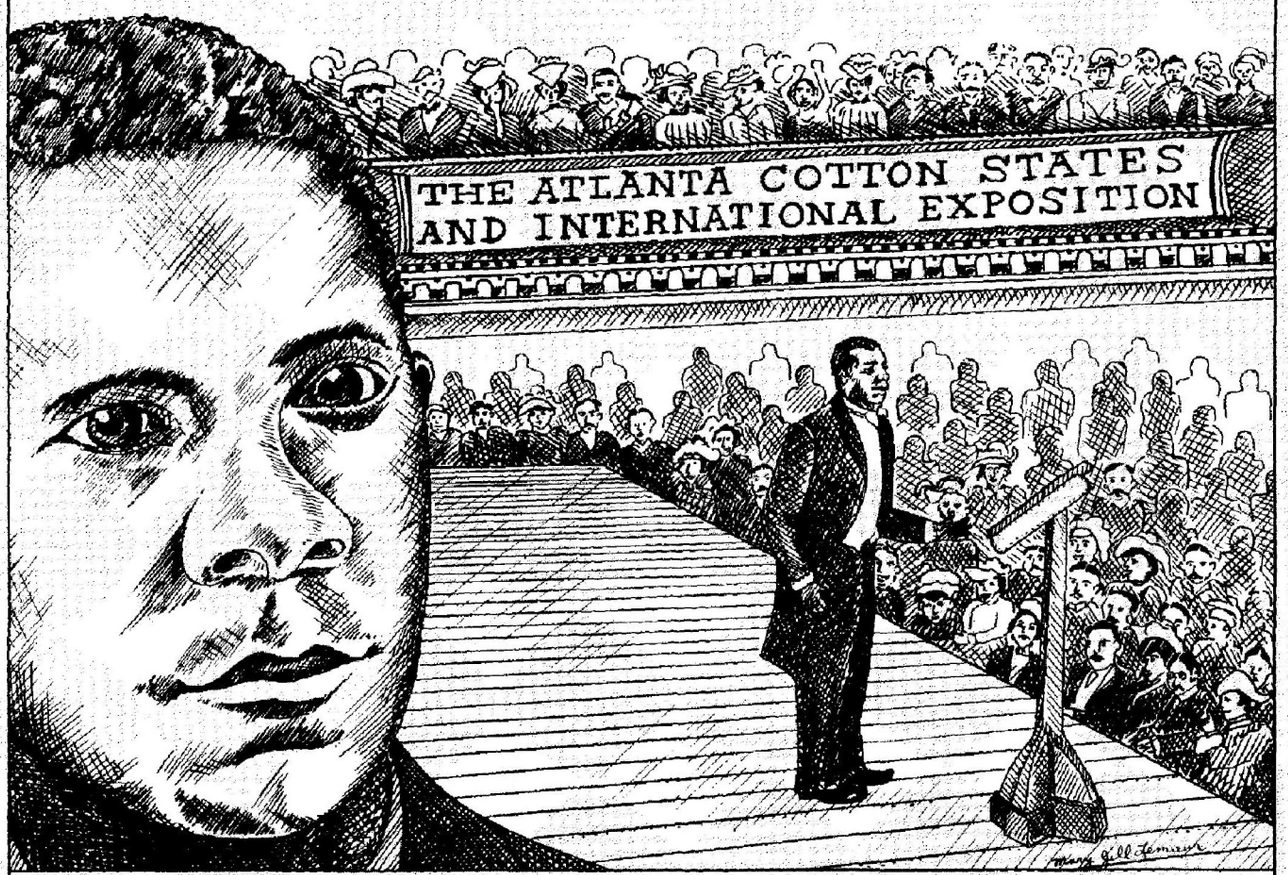
SINGLE COPY - $7.50 ISSN 1055-145X

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

Vol. V, No. 4 Summer 1995

Blacks and Immigration



Observing the Centennial of
Booker T. Washington's Atlanta Exposition Speech

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A STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Just over two decades ago, concern over rapidly growing human population led to the development of the so-called "population movement" aimed at reducing the rate of population growth, both at home and abroad. At home, for a variety of reasons, birth rates fell sharply to sub-replacement levels. However, immigration grew steadily due, in significant measure, to the burgeoning population overseas. Today, human numbers world wide expand at about 10,000 per hour, a quarter of a million each day, 90 million a year.

The combined circumstances of low birth rates and high immigration pressures pose for all the developed countries the three most fundamental questions of immigration policy:

1. **How** many people should we admit, and **what factors** should be taken into account in setting this limit?
2. **Who** should be chosen to immigrate, and **what criteria** should be used for choosing?
3. **How** can we humanely enforce the rules we decide upon?

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT seeks to explore and illuminate these questions by publishing new material, and also by pulling together and reprinting existing works from many now-scattered sources. Our goal is to provide a periodical devoted to the interrelated topics of:

- **Human population** questions, including its absolute size, rate of growth, and distribution. In nations with low natural increase and high immigration, the latter is a significant component of population growth. (In an ideal world, policy on immigrant numbers would derive from a national population policy.)
- **Immigration policy**, especially as it relates to the three basic policy questions mentioned above: how many, who, and how?
- **Language, assimilation, and national unity** considerations, which in large measure derive from and are driven by immigration and assimilation policies.
- **The balance of individual rights and civic responsibilities** since, as with many issues today, population, immigration and language questions are often framed in terms of 'rights.' What is the proper balance of individual and community rights and interests?

Our method for approaching these connected issues is the time-honored concept of "The Social Contract." Most great public issues are basically moral and ethical ones: What is the right thing to do? How do we decide what we think is right? When 'rights' collide, which ones take precedence? The discipline of thinking through these issues in terms of a Social Contract allows one to achieve a balance: of individual and community interests; of the short and the long term; and of utopian idealism and the realities of the world in which we live.

But most importantly, THE SOCIAL CONTRACT is not a detached forum for discussion in some backwater of life. Our issues are all in the forefront of public policy discussions in the United States, which is our primary focus. Our Editorial Advisors are drawn from many of the main organizations trying to influence the course of policy in the issue areas we have chosen. Our journal is one of the tools they use to raise questions, debate themes, and communicate ideas — to encourage vigorous public debate and subsequent changes in our laws and public policies.

We invite you to take part in this Great Debate by reading and contributing to THE SOCIAL CONTRACT.

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THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

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THE SOCIAL CONTRACT is published quarterly.
© 1995 by The Social Contract.

Editorial & Subscription offices at:
316 1/2 E. Mitchell Street, Petoskey, Michigan 49770
Phone (616) 347-1171, Fax (616) 347-1185

Third Class Postage is paid at Petoskey, MI.

Printed on Recycled Paper

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Back to the Back of the Bus? Editorial

The black leadership has never been very active on immigration policy questions. The reasons are probably several. On the national level there doubtless has been some sense of solidarity with other "people of color." This includes those already here, such as the highly variegated Hispanic lobby, and as expressed in the phrase "Rainbow Coalition." Perhaps the sentiment also includes many current immigrants, who as it happens are mainly non-white.

This solidarity is showing some erosion as the more strident among the putative Hispanic leadership have started looking forward with unconcealed glee to the time when their folks will surpass blacks numerically, and hence in political power. With the additional disadvantage (advantage?) of a language barrier that has constituted another claim on government, it may well turn out that it is not whites but immigrants of (other) colors that send the blacks "back to the back of the bus."

One hundred years ago Booker T. Washington saw this competition clearly. We're pleased to commemorate the centennial of his speech to the Atlanta Cotton States and Southern Exposition (September 18, 1895) in which he appealed to industrialists to hire blacks to staff their expanding factories, rather than import immigrants. What a different country we would have had they followed his advice!

We need to distinguish between the national leadership and the rank and file. Professor Jackie Jackson cites the Tarrance-Hart poll of 1983 (see the table on p.249 — since reaffirmed by other polls) revealing that average folks competing for jobs, housing and social services understand the concept of supply and demand quite well, even if their leaders do not. The Jackson article is as current as when written in 1988.

Later this year we will follow up with an issue on "immigration and affirmative action." We are assembling materials that show the very substantial inroads that immigrants, many of whom qualify for preferential treatment the moment they step off the boat, are making into programs initially conceived primarily to aid American-born blacks. For those who want to get rid of affirmative action, the abuses by immigrants will provide one more rationale. Those who wish to retain affirmative action will need to come up with ways to limit it to the American-born minorities for whom it was intended.

The extent of the problem faced by blacks is outlined by Roy Beck in his article, the title of which I borrowed as a theme for this editorial. John Sullivan adds further evidence, noting that in California 56 percent of blacks supported Proposition 187. Richard Estrada of the *Dallas Morning News* details black prospects in the face of high levels of immigration, and Jonathan Kaufman writes in the *Wall Street Journal* (a newspaper that is no friend of immigration control) about the competitive relations between blacks and Asians, Koreans in particular. Those wishing to follow this line further should definitely look up "Blacks vs Browns" by Jack Miles in the October 1992 *Atlantic*. Tara Murphy, an urban refugee from Los Angeles, picks up on the Hispanic supremacists' "We Shall Overwhelm" theme in an article of that title, and economist Vernon Briggs closes this section with another look at the economic competition between blacks and immigrants.

This is our effort to alert our black fellow citizens to the problem that they (as well as we) face. We hope that the centennial of Washington's speech will stimulate thinking and re-thinking on the question.

The center section of this issue presents some fascinating material: a Bangladeshi student's appeal to migrate to the U.S. along with Richard Lamm's thoughtful reply; Ira Mehlman's comments on the reception of Peter Brimelow's book, *Alien Nation*; and a related article on racial/ethnic change in Texas by Cord Meyer. James Robb, who wrote about the Scalabrinian Fathers in our previous issue, asks what the Vatican City-State's immigration policy is. Linda Thom continues her statistical analyses by looking at the correlations between birth rates, welfare use and crime. Don Barnett follows up on the abuse of SSI by immigrants, and Larry Richards of the Software Professional's Political Action Committee lets us know — if we had not found out already — that even good middle class jobs can be wiped out by immigration.

Associate Editor Wayne Lutton has done a fine job of assembling our book review section. This can save you some reading time on a number of important titles — how else can one keep abreast of the growing blizzard of significant materials coming along? We hope this section will assist you in this regard.

Here's to some pleasant and profitable summer reading!

John Tanton, Editor and Publisher

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Letters to the Editor

Editor:

I became aware of THE SOCIAL CONTRACT after writing a letter to Roy Beck pertaining to his article in *National Review* [July 11, 1994]. After reading the Winter 1994-95 issue I can safely say that it was not the most uplifting reading experience I've ever had. The prospects for Western Civilization do not look good. The articles made me aware for the first time that this is a global problem, not simply an American one. However, after finishing the issue I was left with two overriding questions: Is our future unalterable? Can the West save itself from the oncoming train of disaster?

I am a 24 year old college student hoping to pursue a Ph.D. in political science. I hope to contribute to the solution of this urgent problem the West is facing. However the articles do not give one much hope for the future. I would like to know what people like myself can do to help.

Has there been any move toward rectifying the situation? Do you think our side will ultimately be successful in the quest to save Western Civilization? Jean Raspail seems resigned to defeat. Do you agree with him? I hope to hear from you soon.

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT is an extremely informative journal, and I look forward to receiving future issues. Thank you for publishing it.

Sincerely,
D. J. L.
New York City Area

(Dr. Tanton replies:)

Dear D:

Of course our future is not unalterable, and the West *can* save itself from the "oncoming train of disaster." But it will take a lot of hard work, foresight, and some good luck. In particular, demographic forces are hard to turn around. These are long-range, not short-term, projects. This is a marathon, not a 100-yard dash.

There is no virtue in deceiving ourselves: the challenge is very great. As to what one can do, one simply must team up with others who are similarly inclined — the individual working all alone doesn't stand much chance of success. Educate yourself. Try to bring the system around by educating others and communicating with and meeting with your representatives, and raising a bit of hell in defense of what we believe in. The two groups I spend the most time with are FAIR, the Federation for American Immigration Reform, and English Language Advocates (ELA). I enclose some material on both of them.

Do I think our side will ultimately be successful? I, of course, don't know — many other civilizations have gone through periods of decline. But at least we want to make the ennobling effort of trying to pull back from the brink. I hope you will join us in this.

I'd be glad to hear from you again.

Cordially,
John H. Tanton
Editor and Publisher

Editor:

Bravo! Thank you for another great job in clarifying the role of religion in the immigration debate in THE SOCIAL CONTRACT Spring 1995 edition.

Once again the research of the authors of these articles and you as editor and publisher have performed a great service. I am particularly grateful because our organization is producing a video on "Immigration and People of Faith." This edition is a most valuable resource in that effort.

Every page is important to the understanding of this complex arena of activity affecting our survival. It almost seems unfair for me to highlight some writers and omit others.

Roy Beck's excellent contribution may even *convert* the pro-immigration religious lobbyists! Robert Kyser clearly outlines the journey of many dedicated persons who seek to put faith in action.

Could I be so bold as to summarize: In this complex world it takes *wisdom* as well as *heart* to do the right thing! Maybe there was a simpler time when the important thing was just to do "good."

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT performs the vital task of helping people of faith to define what good is in these times. I try hard not to believe in conspiracies and evil plots. Being a Protestant minister has made me dangerously naive. Just keeping up with the

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unfortunate results of well-intentioned fellow religionists keeps me busy.

Keep up the *good* work!

Faithfully,
Charles R. Ausherman, Ph.D.
Institute for Development Training
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Editor:

Re: the article in the [Spring] issue of THE SOCIAL CONTRACT on *Plyler* and Proposition 187, I want to pay my respects to John Rohe for a nicely crafted and thoughtful piece of work. I concur with his assessment (at least by implication) that if today's Supreme Court gets to revisit this issue, the result could be a reversal.

Best regards,
Sidney Rawitz
Chevy Chase, Maryland

Editor:

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT's recent issue on Religious Lobbies was fascinating reading. I continue to be amazed at the fine editorial judgment that your publication displays quarter after quarter. Bob Kyser, Wayne Lutton, *et al* deserve much credit and applause.

Best Regards,
William B. Dickinson
The International Academy of Preventive Medicine
Lawrence, Kansas

Feature Sections of Prior Issues

If your collection is not complete, you may wish to order one or more of the previous issues of **THE SOCIAL CONTRACT** which are available for $7.50 each from The Social Contract Press, 316½ E. Mitchell St., Suite 4, Petoskey, MI 49770.

Fall 1990 — The Tragedy of the Commons
Winter 1990-91 — The Uses and Misuses of History
Spring 1991 — A World Without Borders?
Summer 1991 — Politically Correct on Immigration
Fall 1991 — Immigration and Free Trade With Mexico
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Spring 1995 — Religious Lobbies and the Immigration Debate

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At a time when blacks are under siege in the labor market from record level immigration, it is worthwhile to revisit the speech Booker T. Washington gave to the Atlanta Cotton States and International Exposition on September 18, 1895. The text of the speech and its aftermath form Chapter XIV in Washington's autobiography, Up From Slavery, *originally published in 1901 by Doubleday, Page.*

Cast Down Your Bucket Where You Are

By Booker T. Washington

[Editor's Introduction: *In the wake of the 1992 Los Angeles riots, editorial advisory board member and Professor of History at the University of California - Santa Barbara Otis L. Graham, Jr. called to our attention the famous address by Booker T. Washington, "Cast Down Your Bucket Where You Are." Washington, founder of the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, placed a strong emphasis on industrial education as a way for the blacks emerging from slavery to gain an economic foothold. He saw just as clearly that the captains of American industry were more interested in hiring immigrants than blacks as industrialization took off in the 1890s.*

Washington was invited to address the Atlanta Cotton States and International Exposition on September 18, 1895. This was a major industrial show, funded in part by Congress and attended by business leaders from both the North and the South. Washington decided to use this opportunity to plead for the hiring of blacks rather than the importation of foreign laborers. His call was not heeded and the great wave of immigration, 1890-1920, ensued. One hundred years later one wonders how things might be different if the path he advised had been followed.

We reprint his short speech in its entirety.]

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND CITIZENS:

One-third of the population of the South is of the Negro race. No enterprise seeking the material, civil, or moral welfare of this section can disregard this element of our population and reach the highest success. I but convey to you, Mr. President and Directors, the sentiment of the masses of my race when I say that in no way have the value and manhood of the American Negro been more fittingly and generously recognized than by the managers of this magnificent Exposition at every stage of its progress. It is a recognition that will do more to cement the friendship of the two races than any occurrence since the dawn of our freedom.

Not only this, but the opportunity here afforded will awaken among us a new era of industrial progress. Ignorant and inexperienced, it is not strange that in the first years of our new life we began at the top instead of at the bottom; that a seat in Congress or the state legislature was more sought than real estate or industrial skill; that the political convention or stump speaking had more attractions than starting a dairy farm or truck garden.

"...the captains of American industry were more interested in hiring immigrants than blacks..."

A ship lost at sea for many days suddenly sighted a friendly vessel. From the mast of the unfortunate vessel was seen a signal, "Water, water; we die of thirst!" The answer from the friendly vessel at once came back, "Cast down your bucket where you are." A second time the signal, "Water, water; send us water!" ran up from the distressed vessel, and was answered, "Cast down your bucket where you are." The captain of the distressed vessel, at last heeding the injunction, cast down his bucket, and it came up full of fresh, sparkling water from the mouth of the Amazon River. To those of my race who depend on bettering their condition in a foreign land or who underestimate the importance of cultivating friendly relations with the Southern white man, who is their next-door neighbor, I would say:

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"Cast down your bucket where you are" — cast it down in making friends in every manly way of the people of all races by whom we are surrounded.

Cast it down in agriculture, mechanics, in commerce, in domestic service, and in the professions. And in this connection it is well to bear in mind that whatever other sins the South may be called to bear, when it comes to business, pure and simple, it is in the South that the Negro is given a man's chance in the commercial world, and in nothing is this Exposition more eloquent than in emphasizing this chance. Our greatest danger is that in the great leap from slavery to freedom we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the productions of our hands, and fail to keep in mind that we shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify common labor and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life; shall prosper in proportion as we learn to draw the line between the superficial and the substantial, the ornamental gewgaws of life and the useful. No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top. Nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities.

'To those of the white race who look to the incoming of those of foreign birth and strange tongue and habits for the prosperity of the South ... I say ... Cast down your bucket where you are.' — Booker T. Washington

To those of the white race who look to the incoming of those of foreign birth and strange tongue and habits for the prosperity of the South, were I permitted I would repeat what I say to my own race, "Cast down your bucket where you are." Cast it down among the eight millions of Negroes whose habits you know, whose fidelity and love you have tested in days when to have proved treacherous meant the ruin of your firesides. Cast down your bucket among these people who have, without strikes and labor wars, tilled your fields, cleared your forests, builded your railroads and cities, and brought forth treasures from the bowels of the earth, and helped make possible this magnificent representation of the progress of the South. Casting down your bucket among my people, helping and encouraging them as you are doing on these grounds, and to education of head, hand, and heart, you will find that they will buy your surplus land, make blossom the waste places in your fields, and run your factories. While doing this, you can be sure in the future, as in the past, that you and your families will be surrounded by the most patient, faithful, law-abiding, and unresentful people that the world has seen. As we have proved our loyalty to you in the past, in nursing your children, watching by the sick-bed of your mothers and fathers, and often following them with tear-dimmed eyes to their graves, so in the future, in our humble way, we shall stand by you with a devotion that no foreigner can approach, ready to lay down our lives, if need be, in defense of yours, interlacing our industrial, commercial, civil, and religious life with yours in a way that shall make the interests of both races one. In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.

There is no defense or security for any of us except in the highest intelligence and development of all. If anywhere there are efforts tending to curtail the fullest growth of the Negro, let these efforts be turned into stimulating, encouraging, and making him the most useful and intelligent citizen. Effort or means so invested will pay a thousand per cent interest. These efforts will be twice blessed — "blessing him that gives and him that takes."
There is no escape through law of man or God from the inevitable:—

The laws of changeless justice bind
Oppressor with oppressed;
And close as sin and suffering joined
We march to fate abreast.

Nearly sixteen millions of hands will aid you in pulling the load upward, or they will pull against you the load downward. We shall constitute one-third and more of the ignorance and crime of the South, or one-third its intelligence and progress; we shall

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contribute one-third to the business and industrial prosperity of the South, or we shall prove a veritable body of death, stagnating, depressing, retarding every effort to advance the body politic.

Gentlemen of the Exposition, as we present to you our humble effort at an exhibition of our progress, you must not expect overmuch. Starting thirty years ago with ownership here and there in a few quilts and pumpkins and chickens (gathered from miscellaneous sources), remember the path that has led from these to the inventions and production of agricultural implements, buggies, steam-engines, newspapers, books, statuary, carving, paintings, the management of drug-stores and banks, has not been trodden without contact with thorns and thistles. While we take pride in what we exhibit as a result of our independent efforts, we do not for a moment forget that our part in this exhibition would fall far short of your expectations but for the constant help that has come to our educational life, not only from the Southern states, but especially from Northern philanthropists, who have made their gifts a constant stream of blessing and encouragement.

'Every hour sees the black man elbowed out of employment by some newly arrived immigrant...' — Frederick Douglass

The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing. No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized. It is important and right that all privileges of the law be ours, but it is vastly more important that we be prepared for the exercises of these privileges. The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera house.

In conclusion, may I repeat that nothing in thirty years has given us more hope and encouragement, and drawn us so near to you of the white race, as this opportunity offered by the Exposition; and here bending, as it were, over the altar that represents the results of the struggles of your race and mine, both starting practically empty-handed three decades ago, I pledge that in your effort to work out the great and intricate problem which God has laid at the doors of the South, you shall have at all times the patient, sympathetic help of my race; only let this be constantly in mind, that, while from representations in these buildings of the product of field, or forest, of mine, of factory, letters, and art, much good will come, yet far above and beyond material benefits will be that higher good, that, let us pray God, will come, in a blotting out of sectional differences and racial animosities and suspicions, in a determination to administer absolute justice, in a willing obedience among all classes to the mandates of law. This, this, coupled with our material prosperity, will bring into our beloved South a new heaven and a new earth.

* * *

Editor's postscript: *Views similar to those of Washington about the competition between blacks and immigrants for jobs were held by black activist Frederick Douglass. His observation was significantly truncated in a recent article in the* Washington Post. *The* Post *made reference to Douglass' views on segregation: "Every hour sees the black man elbowed out of employment."*

But as pointed out by Roy Beck, Washington editor of THE SOCIAL CONTRACT, *here is what Douglass actually wrote: "The old employments by which we have heretofore gained our livelihood, are gradually, and it may seem inevitably, passing into other hands. Every hour sees the black man elbowed out of employment by some newly arrived immigrant whose hunger and whose color are thought to give him a better title to the place."*[1]

Beck went on to cast aspersions on the *Post*'s editing and its failure to acknowledge the problem of mass immigration at the expense of African Americans. See also Roy Beck's article on page 255 of this issue. ■

NOTE

[1] *My Bondage and My Freedom*, by Frederick Douglass. Dover, Black Rediscovery Series, 1969 Edition, pp. 454-5.

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Robert Kyser is managing editor of THE SOCIAL CONTRACT.

A Champion of Black Employment

Booker T. Washington (1856-1915)

By Robert Kyser

Many Americans think about black history in only one dimension: the emancipation of deep South plantation blacks and their progress toward employment, civil rights and equality in accommodations. This is an understandable legacy of the abolitionist movement and the wide distribution of such descriptions as are found in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. But the status of blacks at the outbreak of the Civil War was as variegated as was the American landscape from Biloxi to Boston.

The black leaders who emerged in the late 1800s differed from one another and thus their strategies for social change differed as well. Frederick Douglass, W. E. B. DuBois and Booker T. Washington diverged widely from one another on the question of how to lift their people — a divergence that resulted largely from their previous experience, as Thomas Sowell reminds us in his article "Up From Slavery" (*Forbes* December 5, 1994). Douglass escaped from slavery in Maryland and migrated to Massachusetts where he became an articulate speaker for the abolitionists, describing life in bondage. Later he broke with the "moral suasion" abolitionists to become more politically active in pressing for emancipation. DuBois was a Northerner descended from antebellum "free persons of color" and educated at Harvard. He had different priorities for the blacks for whom he was working. Washington was a former slave from the Virginia Piedmont, a teacher with missionary zeal to lift the former slaves out of poverty and unemployment through education.

Booker T. Washington was passionately devoted to the upward progress of the other members of his race, but he would come to be accused by other black leaders of being too passive and submissive *vis à vis* his white contemporaries. After all, the Southern blacks of the 1890s were suffering a more severe separation from white society than they had endured under slavery. Their equality in political life and public accommodations was granted by law, but they were intimidated from enjoying those civil liberties. Certainly, said DuBois and others, the times demand a more belligerent posture on the part of post-Reconstruction blacks.

But Washington saw things differently. His background included the development of skills working with the owners of a small tobacco farm. Later his work as a houseboy taught him the value of personal cleanliness and the rewards of labor. The education he received at the Hampton (Virginia) Institute with its emphasis on vocational training as well as the three Rs was the touchstone for his career as an educator. He saw the freedman, cut loose from his former provision, as helpless and hopeless without an education and without the skills to make his way in the economy. Many members of his race saw education much differently. For them "book learning" was a way to escape from the need to do hard work to support oneself. As Washington observes in his autobiography, *Up From Slavery* (first published by Doubleday in 1901, now available from Viking Penguin):

> *At Hampton I not only learned that it was not a disgrace to labour, but learned to love labour, not alone for its financial value, but for labour's own sake and for the independence and self-reliance which the ability to do something which the world wants done brings.*

After his graduation from the Hampton Institute Washington returned to West Virginia to teach for a time in his home town, but was soon brought back to

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Hampton as an instructor. Later he was recommended to a group in the Black Belt of Alabama wishing to found a similar institute for the training of teachers and the industrial education of blacks. Under his directorship the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute was built from scratch (the students literally making the bricks for the first buildings) as an effort worthy of the support of Northern philanthropists.

"Washington found that his brief speech suddenly earned him national recognition among whites as the new spokesperson for a comfortable way to deal with the race problem in America..."

When the Atlanta Cotton States and International Exposition was opened on September 18, 1895, Frederick Douglass had been dead for a few months, leaving a leadership vacuum on the national scene. Who would help the former slaves in the wake of emancipation? Tuskegee Institute was invited to participate along with Hampton in displays of "Negro" craftsmanship, and Washington was asked to give one of the opening addresses. Working as he did in the deep South and wishing to maintain a stance that would be the most helpful, Washington (who had already earned a reputation as an accomplished orator) found that his brief speech suddenly earned him national recognition among whites as the new spokesperson for a comfortable way to deal with the race problem in America: "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress." Ever after, the speech would be hailed or castigated as "the Atlanta compromise."

The now-prominent Washington's contacts with the White House, with Northern industrialists and philanthropists, and with Southern moderates led to the development of "the Tuskegee Machine" through which he could recommend blacks to serve in various capacities. This machine was in high gear when DuBois and others met in 1905 to form the organization which later became the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Washington was vilified by these other black leaders for being too accommodating and standing in the way of political and social progress for America's blacks. He died in 1915 at age 59.

A National Park Service Monument has been created at the Burroughs plantation (in reality a small tobacco farm) where Booker was born in 1856. Situated 22 miles south of Roanoke, Virginia, the 200-acre complex features reconstructed farm buildings, hiking trails and demonstrations of pre-Civil War farm life. The monument honors the educator, orator and controversial public figure who devoted his life to helping black Americans live beyond the economic slavery that held them down long after emancipation.

A forgotten aspect of his legacy is that he tried to convince the nation, at the outset of massive European immigration at the end of the last century, to allow its former slaves to participate in the new industrial economy because they were not

> *those of foreign birth and strange tongue and habits... [but rather] people who have, without strikes and labour wars, tilled your fields, cleared your forests, builded your railroads and cities, and brought forth treasures from the bowels of the earth...* ■

John Stuart Mill on the Welfare State

"Society can feed the necessitous, if it takes their multiplication under control; or (if destitute of all moral feeling for the wretched offspring) it can leave the last to their own discretion, abandoning the first to their own care. But it cannot with impunity take the feeding upon itself, and leave the multiplying free."

— John Stuart Mill, 1848, *Principles of Political Economy*

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Competition Between Blacks and Immigrants

by Jacquelyne Johnson Jackson

Economic competition between blacks and immigrants in the United States is not new. In an early example, the artisans in Philadelphia between 1790 and 1820 were mostly black, but they were largely displaced by whites. In the words of W.E.B. DuBois, this phenomenon was due to "the sharp competition of the foreigners and the demand for new sorts of skilled labor of which the Negro was ignorant, and was not allowed to learn.[1] The heavy influx of European immigrants between 1830 and 1860 also displaced many black workers.[2]

Booker T. Washington, the most prominent black leader of his era, questioned the preference for foreign workers in the southern labor market. Speaking before the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1895, he said:

> *To those of the white race who look to the incoming of those of foreign birth and strange tongue and habits for the prosperity of the South, were I permitted I would repeat what I say to my own race, 'Cast down your bucket where you are.' Cast it down among the eight millions of Negroes whose habits you know... As we have proved our loyalty to you in the past ... so in the future, in our humble way, we shall stand by you with a devotation that no foreigner can approach, ready to lay down our lives, if need be, in defence of yours, interlacing our industrial, commercial, civil, and religious life with yours in a way that shall make the interests of both races one.*[3]

Despite Washington's plea, shortly after the turn of the century, seven southern states organized "immigration bureaus" to try to meet the South's labor needs with whites and to accelerate the Negro exodus to the North.[4] But the "Great Migration" of blacks from the South between 1916 and 1935 and their increasing employment in northern industries was in part a consequence of the drop in immigration during World War I and the tighter restrictions on both immigration and the use of temporary "nonimmigrant" workers after World War I.

But two decades of heavy immigration beginning in the 1960s, much of it by unskilled and uneducated workers, has given Washington's concern a new timeliness. A critical but at times neglected issue in the debates on immigration reform of the past decade and a half is the impact of legal and illegal immigration on the socioeconomic conditions of native blacks and other minorities,particularly those in the secondary, or low-skilled, labor market.

While blacks are affected in many ways, deserving special attention are: (1) the impact of legal and illegal immigrants on blacks in low-wage jobs in the secondary labor market, (2) the attitudes of blacks toward immigration reform before passage of the immigration act, (3) the voting positions of black congressmembers on the immigration reform and control bills of 1984 and 1986, and (4) the likely impact of the act on blacks living in areas with high concentrations of recent immigrants and refugees.

Job Displacement and Wage Depression

Anecdotal data, labor market statistics and simple observation show a pronounced trend during the past two decades of immigrant and refugee workers replacing many native black unskilled, semi-skilled and supervisory workers in such businesses as hotels, restaurants, fast food outlets, light manufacturing firms, construction firms and taxicab companies in metropolitan areas with heavy concentrations of recent immigrants and refugees. Indications of these trends

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have been confirmed by sectoral and regional studies during the past decade that suggest that undocumented workers displace low-skilled native workers and depress wages.

In the last few years, however, these conclusions have been challenged by studies that have received a great deal of attention although their methods are questionable.[5] Studies by Kevin McCarthy and Burciago Valdez for The Rand Corporation in 1985 and by Thomas Muller and Thomas Espenshade for the Urban Institute in 1984 contend that immigrants generally do not affect the employment opportunities or earnings of black Californians.[6] Their studies, while acknowledging the vulnerability of the least skilled, address incompletely the issue of job displacement of blacks by undocumented workers.

A major flaw, for example, in the McCarthy and Valdez study is its comparison of the earnings of year-round, full-time workers in 1969 and 1979 in reaching their conclusion that black earnings had outpaced that of Hispanics. The authors thereby ignored the competition that takes place between blacks and undocumented workers who are not year-round, full-time workers. In addition, they did not take full account of the blacks who were discouraged from looking for work, many of whom were abandoned by their employers in favor of undocumented workers.

...undocumented workers often cause job displacement through the use of occupational kinship networks.

The Muller and Espenshade report also suffered from using too simple a model for the labor market. Their analysis tested a linkage between the black unemployment rate and the percentage of Hispanics in the total population. The percentage of Hispanic immigrants of all ages, however, is clearly an inappropriate measure of their proportion in the labor force. If Muller and Espenshade had determined the relationship between black unemployment rates and the percentage of Hispanic immigrants in the local labor markets, their results might not have supported their claim that rising proportions of Hispanic immigrants in the local markets reduced black unemployment.

One of the most widely disseminated studies of the job displacement issue, which was prepared by George Borjas and Marta Tienda, concludes that immigrant workers rarely lower the earnings of native workers. However, even they acknowledged that their conclusions are based on "aggregated data for large and diverse groups of native workers" rather than on data for specific local markets, and therefore does not represent what actually happens in local labor markets with large number of immigrant workers.[7]

Illegal immigrants, of course, are not evenly spread over the United States, but are concentrated in the major urban areas also favored by black citizens and in industries and occupations where blacks have been overrepresented. Five of the top ten urban black population centers (i.e., Chicago, Houston, Los Angeles, New York and Washington, D.C.) are also the areas where most illegal immigrants have settled.[8] Even several scholars who believe that immigrants don't displace a significant number of native workers on a nationwide scale agree that in areas heavily populated by immigrants, steep competition between similarly skilled immigrants and native workers can be significant.[9]

Philip Martin has convincingly demonstrated that illegal workers tend to dominate certain work forces because immigrants eventually gain control of mid-level supervisory positions and job recruitment (see Chapter 2). Martin's analysis of network recruitment may well be the best explanation for the demise of black occupational kinship networks in job sectors where blacks once functioned as the primary recruiters and supervisors. In addition, Robert Ainsworth, in his study published by the National Commission for Employment Policy also concluded that undocumented workers often cause job displacement through the use of occupational kinship networks.[10]

Richard Mines, who studied the effects of undocumented Mexican workers on labor markets in California between 1977 and 1985, has revealed how employment sectors, once filled by black workers, became dominated by immigrants receiving low wages. In the early 1980s, for example, employers in the high-rise office districts of Los Angeles began to use new contractors who had tapped into networks of recent immigrants to hire janitors. The rising proportion of immigrant janitors was accompanied by a substantial decline in the number of native black janitors and hourly janitorial wages plummeted from an average of about $13.00 an hour (including benefits) to just over the minimum wage. Mines also

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Table 1. Blacks and Hispanics' views on immigration: Tarrance-Hart Poll, 1983

Interview Item	Black	Hispanic
Immigration is a most important or very important national issue.	56.3	72.4
U.S. should admit "fewer" or "a lot fewer" legal immigrants.	73.1	49.6
There should be tougher laws for illegal immigrants.	69.8	47.2
Illegal immigrants are a major harm, to U.S. jobless.	69.2	45.9
Illegal immigrants lowering American wages is a major problem.	60.8	38.6
Restricting immigration is bad for the American economy.	47.9	50.9
Favor penalties against employers knowingly hiring illegal immigrants.	65.8	59.2
Favor amnesty for long-time undocumented workers.	57.2	74.1
Favor amnesty for those in the U.S. five-plus years.	59.9	59.2
Favor increasing border controls.	69.0	60.8
Favor free education for illegal immigrants.	55.6	70.1
Support educational instruction in English only.	66.4	43.2
Oppose illegal immigrants receiving welfare.	59.1	56.6
Favor illegal immigrants receiving Medicaid.	50.0	51.6
Support ballots printed in English and Spanish.	75.8	79.9

reported that employers replaced their veteran workers with recent immigrants in the frozen food industries in Watsonville, construction clean-up jobs in Orange County and janitorial work in San Jose.[11]

The proliferation of job networks that are controlled by immigrants and in turn hire other immigrants has particularly harmed the employment prospects of blacks who look for jobs by using their friends and relatives. Almost one-fifth of unemployed blacks typically use fewer than two job-seeking methods; again, most often rely upon their friends and relatives.[12]

In addition, blacks have been increasingly shut out of jobs because of "linguistic" discrimination. In Florida for instance, many hotels and other service employers now hire only Spanish-speaking or bilingual workers. These employers often perceive a lack of "fit" between blacks and their Spanish-speaking employees and customers. A growing number of local school districts and public agencies in areas with heavy concen-trations of immigrants are hiring fewer monolingual professionals. Many black professionals fluent only in English are now losing out to bilingual competitors.

Blacks might even agree that immigrants create some jobs. But too often the jobs created are not for domestic minorities, but for the next waves of immigrants recruited through ethnic networks, whether it be Miami's Cuban enclave, the garment industries of New York and New Jersey or the light industries of Los Angeles.

The controversy about the effects of immigrants and refugees on native black employment and earnings will persist until definitive data are available. But in the absence of such data, blacks and other vulnerable minorities deserve the benefit of the doubt: public policies should be shaped by values that promote economic equity for all citizens, including those Americans whose slave ancestors did not come to U.S. shores in search of freedom.

Attitudes About Immigration Reform and Control

Whatever the studies show, polls show blacks perceive serious job competition with Hispanic workers as a fact. The most representative poll of black and Hispanic attitudes about immigration prior to the act is the 1983 telephone poll of a nationally representative sample of 800 blacks and 800 Hispanics. The public opinion poll was conducted by V. Lance Tarrance and Associates and Peter D. Hart Research Associates. Almost 96 percent of the black and 59 percent of the Hispanic respondents were born in the United States, and 98 percent of these black and 76 percent of these Hispanic respondents were American citizens.

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A comparison of the black and Hispanic responses reveals considerable similarities and some differences. Hispanics were substantially more likely than blacks to regard immigration reform and control as a most important or very important national issue, to favor admitting more legal immigrants and to support milder laws for illegal aliens. They were, however, less likely to consider it a major problem when illegal immigrants harmed unemployed Americans or lowered American wages. Blacks and Hispanics were similar in the percentages supporting penalties against employers hiring illegal aliens. But the Hispanics were far more supportive of amnesty for undocumented workers. Both groups tended to favor amnesty for undocumented workers who had resided in the United States for at least five years. Hispanics were substantially more likely to support public school and bilingual education for illegal immigrants. Both groups tended to oppose welfare benefits, except Medicaid, for illegal immigrants. They also strongly agreed that ballots should be printed in both English and Spanish.

"...polls show blacks perceive serious job competition with Hispanic workers as a fact."

Attitudes among the black respondents in the Tarrance-Hart poll did not differ substantially. Age and sex variations were slight. Compared to naturalized black citizens and non-citizens, native blacks were far more supportive of tougher restrictions against illegal and legal aliens and much more likely to believe that undocumented workers displaced America workers and depressed their wages and working conditions. Compared to those respondents who did not complete college, most college graduates favored tougher enforcement penalties to curb illegal immigration, but were somewhat less likely to support enforcement. The same pattern was true of respondents in upper white collar jobs as compared with all other respondents, and of those with household incomes of $25,000 or more, as compared with lower-income respondents. In their support of free education, the black respondents did not differ significantly by income. Respondents whose incomes were under $10,000 were substantially more likely to believe that illegal immigrants should be eligible for welfare benefits and Medicaid. Opposition to illegal aliens receiving welfare was positively correlated with income.

"Black resentment toward Cuban refugees in Miami ... after the Mariel Boatlift, may have helped precipitate the 1980 riots in that city."

The Tarrance-Hart findings for blacks generally match the findings in other national and regional polls about immigration reform. For example, in a 1983 telephone survey of 1,031 English-speaking respondents in six urban counties of southern California by the Field Research Corporation, Thomas Muller and Thomas Espenshade reported that 91 percent of the black respondents believed that the problem of illegal immigrants in their area was very serious or somewhat serious. Most also believed that illegal immigrants displaced area residents (*especially blacks*), and depressed wages. Both the Field poll and a 1983 *Los Angeles Times* poll found that more than 80 percent of the blacks surveyed, a higher percentage than for whites, supported penalties against employers hiring undocumented workers.[13] A 1986 poll by the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported that 48 percent of its black respondents believed that undocumented workers take jobs from Californians.[14] This percentage was only four percentage points higher than that reported in a 1986 *New York Times/CBS News Poll*.[15] However, the results of these two polls and the Tarrance-Hart poll are not directly comparable, owing to their sampling and instrumental differences. Therefore, it cannot be assumed that the proportion of blacks who believe that undocumented workers take jobs away from native workers has diminished over time. The results of these polls suggest that a strong plurality of blacks continue to believe that undocumented workers adversely affect many American workers.

A *Miami Herald* poll taken shortly after the 1980 Miami riots found that black attitudes towards specific immigrant groups tended to divide along ethnic lines. About 85 percent of the black respondents in Dade County (which included Miami) believed that the Cuban refugees had "hurt black changes," while only 47 percent believed that the Haitian presence was harmful.[16] Black resentment towards Cuban refugees in Miami, whose numbers rapidly increased after the

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Mariel boatlift, may have helped to precipitate the 1980 riots in that city. Moreover, in other cities, some blacks aired their resentment towards Asian small shopowners in black neighborhoods or resisted Southeastern Asian settlement in some previously racially segregated black neighborhoods.

Some black resentment of immigrants and refugees has also surfaced in the media, and especially on talk and call-in shows about immigrants and refugees. But a primary cause of this resentment has been typically overlooked by the media and the non-black public. The stark differences in the American reception of Cuban and Haitian refugees were far too discriminatory for Congressman George W. Crockett, Jr. In his House speech, he spoke for millions of black Americans and other fair-minded Americans in protesting:

> *...[the] determined effort [of the INS and the Department of State] to exclude the first significant class of black refugees to come to our shores. The result has been racist in effect, regardless of intent... There has been much discussion that the [approximately 15,000] Haitian refugees are simply economic refugees and therefore not entitled to refuge in our country. This simplistic and distorted assertion emanates from a theoretical assumption that economics and politics are separable. This was not asserted nor could it be in the case of the Indochinese refugees.*[17]

Crockett believes strongly, as do most black Americans, that due process and equal protection under the law, as well as economic assistance, must also be accorded to non-white refugees. Black resentment against preferential treatment given to non-black refugees, such as most of the Cubans, can only be understood within this context.

In general, recent polls of black views on immigration, coupled with periodic reports in the media of certain black behavior towards immigrants and refugees, suggest strongly that most blacks favor immigration reform to halt illegal immigration and to reduce legal immigration. The view is based largely on their belief — rightly or wrongly — that many blacks have been and will continue to be harmed by the growing presence of immigrants, and because they tend to view native blacks and immigrants and refugees as prospective competitors who will increasingly gain an edge over them if history repeats itself.

Positions of Black Congressional Representatives

Until 1986 curbs on illegal immigration had virtually no support among blacks in Congress. In 1984 only one member of the Congressional Black Caucus, Harold Ford, voted for the Simpson-Mazzoli bill, despite the polls showing that a majority of American blacks supported employer sanctions.

"It is clear that black opposition to immigration reform ... was not due to any single set of causes."

Many observers were surprised when most black representatives failed to support fully the immigration bills of 1984 and 1986. Some of their surprise came from their assumption that the constituents of black representatives are black and that those representatives should vote the views of their constituents. But in fact only 60 percent of the blacks in the 99th Congress represented predominantly black districts; the majority of blacks in the United States do not reside in those districts. Another false assumption is that American blacks are politically monolithic and that they are the sole or primary constituents of black representatives in the Congress.

Some believe that the lack of support in 1984 and 1986 for immigration reform among black representatives was due to a presumed alliance with Hispanic congressmembers and with Hispanic political leaders in their districts. Five of the six black representatives with the largest proportion of Hispanics in their districts (over 20 percent) voted against the conference report of the 1986 bill. In contrast, four of the five representatives with the lowest percentages of Hispanics in their districts (1 percent or less) voted for the report, indicating that the presence or absence of Hispanic constituents was a factor in the representatives' voting patterns. But the rhetoric of the floor debate suggests a different story. Only one black representative referred explicitly or directly in the hearings or debates to the Hispanics' position as a reason for his opposition to the bill. Judging by the debate, the black congressmembers were more

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concerned with what they considered substantial flaws in the bill than they were with voting in tandem with some of their Hispanic colleagues.

Another factor in black opposition to the bill was the perception that the bill discriminated against Haitian refugees. The lack of provisions favorable to Haitian refugees in the 1982 version of the bill prompted the Congressional Black Caucus to form a Task Force on Haitian Refugees. H.R. 1510 provided for the legalization of all eligible Cuban and Haitian entrants in the United States, but Congressmember George Crockett was still seriously concerned that the choice of a cut-off date of January 1980, instead of January 1982, was anti-Haitian, as most Haitians arrived after January 1980.[18]

In 1986 several Black Caucus members objected to the provisions for temporary agricultural workers and special agricultural workers. In a speech before the House, Representative George Crockett explained: "The paradox of using significant numbers of undocumented farmworkers during a time of intolerably high domestic unemployment in the agriculture industry only sustains the unjust system of low wages, substandard working conditions, and high profit margins that have produced such misery on our farms in the past."[19] Congressmembers John Conyers, Jr., Ronald V. Dellums and Mickey Leland also opposed these provisions and what they saw as a lack of enforceable sanctions in the bills.

Most of the black representatives favored generous amnesty and believed that it was the most important part of the bill. Although he was also troubled by the probability that legalization would harm American workers, Congressman Major R. Owens supported amnesty (but not blanket amnesty), even though he believed that it was not favored by his constituents.[20]

A majority of the black representatives supported amendments to the 1986 bill that would hold employers responsible for verifying applicant eligibility (73.7 percent), delete criminal penalties against employers who knowingly and willfully continued to violate the law by hiring undocumented workers (55.6 percent), require the INS to obtain search warrants for open farmlands (82.4 percent) and permit illegal aliens to live in public housing (88.2 percent). They unequivocally voted to: prohibit employment discrimination on the basis of alienage, with enforcement by a Special Counsel in the Department of Justice; and to delete EVD for undocumented Salvadorans and Nicaraguans. Many of the amendments favored by most black representatives, however, were deleted from the final version of the bill.[21]

Table 2. Voting patterns of black representatives on the 1984 and 1986 immigration reform legislation

Representative	State	(1984) H.R. 1510	(1986)) H.R. 3810
William L. Clay	Mo.	Nay	Yea
Cardiss Collins	Ill.	Nay	Yea
John Conyers, Jr.	Mich.	Nay	Not Voting*
George W. Crockett, Jr.	Mich.	Nay	Not Voting
Ronald V. Dellums	Cal.	Nay	Nay
Julian C. Dixon	Cal.	Nay	Yea
Mervyn M. Dymally	Cal.	Nay	Nay
Harold E. Ford	Tenn.	Yea	Yea
William H. Gray III	Pa.	Nay	Yea
Katie Hall	Ind.	Nay	—
Augustus F. Hawkins	Cal.	Nay	Nay
Charles A. Hayes	Ill.	Nay	Nay
Mickey Leland	Texas	Not Voting	Nay
Parren J. Mitchell	Md.	Nay	Not Voting*
Major R. Owens	N.Y.	Nay	Yea
Charles B. Rangel	N.Y.	Nay	Yea
Gus Savage	Ill.	Nay	Nay
Louis Stokes	Ohio	Nay	Yea
Edolphus Towns	N.Y.	Nay	Nay
Alton R. Waldon, Jr.	N.Y.	—	Yea
Alan Wheat	Mo.	Nay	Yea

Sources: *Congressional Record*, June 20,1984; *Congressional Record*, October 9, 1986
*Not Voting, but paired against passage of bill.

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It is clear that black opposition to immigration reform in 1984 and, partially, in 1986 was not due to any single set of causes. Some were concerned that the flawed legislation would neither end the use of easily exploited foreign agricultural workers nor secure the border and be fair and just for many illegal aliens. The reasons for the shift from almost blanket opposition in 1984 to a slim majority favoring the bill in 1986 varies among individual representatives, but includes such factors as constituent pressure to support legalization and pressure from non-black congressional colleagues to favor a much-needed bill. Most likely too, there was underlying concern about job displacement and depressed wages and working conditions of American workers who were forced to compete with foreign workers.

Likely Impacts of the Act on Blacks

It is too early to determine precisely what effects the act will have on blacks, particularly those in metropolitan areas with large concentrations of lower-class blacks and recent immigrants, refugees and illegal aliens. The greatest impact is likely in the areas of employment, education and public welfare services. Unless the INS rigorously enforces the provisions for employer sanctions, including the rules to combat casual hiring and loopholes for general contractors, few blacks will gain the jobs left by undocumented workers. Even if sanctions do prevent employers from hiring undocumented aliens, they may, for a time, opt to employ refugees and recent immigrants to the extent possible instead of native blacks. The possible relocation of more low-wage American businesses abroad may also harm the employment prospects of some blacks. But if wages and working conditions improve nationwide in the secondary labor market, blacks should come out ahead overall.

Public schools are sites of increasing tension and conflict among poor minorities and whites. Among the major challenges are achieving the proper racial and ethnic composition of administrators and faculty and distributing resources between bilingual and remedial programs. The increasingly frequent hiring of bilingual staff tends to decrease the number of black teachers and to deplete the resources available for remedial courses. An increase in the number of persons eligible for public welfare services, such as health care and public housing, will undoubtedly burden certain local and state governments, leading to increased taxes, reduced services, or both.

While Congress in the act mandated a triennial comprehensive immigration impact report, it unfortunately did not provide for specific reports on the effect of the act on native blacks and other groups who most often compete with recent immigrants, refugees and illegal aliens. While blacks share a responsibility for monitoring the impacts and lobbying for public policies to reduce them, the major responsibility for effective leadership in assimilating these newcomers lies with the federal government.

Given the racial and ethnic polarization which could increase as a consequence of legalization, black and other American citizens must work harder to improve intergroup relations. Concerned citizens should urge Congress to support better border control, a higher minimum wage and adequate federal funding to ease the burden to state and local governments charged with delivering health, educational and human welfare services to the newcomers. In addition, citizens should urge their representatives to make sure our immigration laws are enforced in a non-discriminatory way and perhaps reconsider EVD status for Salvadorans and Nicaraguans. Furthermore, blacks and Hispanics should heed Congressman Crockett's warnings against an agribusiness policy which would use hiring methods that foster job displacement and wage depression for many U.S. workers. They should urge American employers to first "cast down their buckets" for willing native workers.

NOTES

[1] W.E. Burghardt Du Bois, *The Philadelphia Negro, A Social Study* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1899), p. 33.

[2] See, e.g., Du Bois, *The Philadelphia Negro*, Sterling D. Spero and Abram L. Harris, *The Black Worker* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931), and William Julius Wilson, *The Declining Significance of Race, Blacks and Changing American Institutions* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978).

[3] Quoted in Francis L. Broderick and August Meier, eds., *Negro Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century* (Indianapolis, Indiana: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1965), pp. 5-6.

[4] John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism*, 1860-1925 (New York: Atheneum, 1978), p. 114.

[5] See, e.g., L.F. Chapman Jr., *Annual Report of the*

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Immigration and Naturalization Service (GPO, 1974), pp. iii-iv, Kingsley Davis, "The Migrations of Human Populations," *Scientific American*, Vol. 231, 1974, pp. 93-105, David North and Marion Houston, *The Characteristics and Roles of Illegal Aliens in the U.S. Labor Market: An Exploratory Study* (WDC: New Transcentury, 1976), Jacquelyne J. Jackson, "Illegal Aliens: Big Threat to Black Workers," *Ebony*, Vol. 34 (1979); pp. 33-36, 38 and 40, John Reid, *Black America in the 1980s* (WDC: Population Reference Bureau, Inc., December 1982), Briggs, Immigration Policy, John K. Hill, :The Economic Impact of Tighter U.S. Border Security," *Economic Review* (Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas, July 1985), pp. 12-20, James E. Pearce and Jeffery W. Gunther, "Illegal Immigration from Mexico: Effects on the Texas Economy," *Economic Review* (Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas, September 21985), pp. 1-11, and Philip Martin, *Illegal Immigration and the Colonization of the American Labor Market* (WDC: Center for Immigration Studies, 1986).

[6] Kevin F. McCarthy and R. Burciago Valdez, *Current and Future Effects of Mexican Immigration in California: Executive Summary* (Santa Monica, California: The Rand Corporation, 1985) and Thomas Muller and Thomas J. Espenshade, *The Fourth Wave, California's Newest Immigrants* (WDC: The Urban Institute Press, 1985).

[7] George Borjas and Marta Tienda, "The Economic Consequences of Immigration," *Science*, February 6, 1987, p. 647.

[8] This estimation is based on a variety of reports about the geographical distribution of undocumented aliens. Approximately 2.1 million undocumented aliens were counted in the 1980 census and the annual net increase since then has been estimated at about 200,000 annually (U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-25, No. 1000, *Estimates of the Population of the United States, by Age, Sex and Race: 1980 to 1986* (GPO, 1987). Also see Jeffrey S. Passel and Karen A. Woodrow, "Geographic Distribution of Undocumented Immigrants: Estimates of Undocumented Aliens Counted in the 1980 Census by State," *International Migration Review*, Vol. 18 (1984), pp. 642-671.

[9] Vernon M. Briggs, *Immigration Policy and the American Labor Force* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1984) and Borjas and Tienda, "The Economic Consequences of Immigration."

[10] Robert G. Ainsworth, *Illegal Immigrants and Refugees—Their Economic Adaptation and Impact on Local U.S. Labor Markets: A Review of the Literature* (WDC: National Commission for Employment Policy, Research Report Series, RR-86-22, October 1986), pp. vii-viii.

[11] Richard Mines, "Undocumented Immigrants and California Industries: Reflections on Research," for Hearings of the Intergovernmental Relations Committee, November 15, 1985.

[12] See, e.g. U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Handbook of Labor Statistics*, Bulletin 2217 (GPO, June 1985), pp. 85 and 88.

[13] *Los Angeles Times* July 25, 1983.

[14] *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 2, 1986.

[15] *New York Times/CBS News Poll*, 1986.

[16] *The Miami Herald* poll of May 11, 1980, as cited in John F. Stack Jr., ed., *The Primordial Challenge: Ethnicity in the Contemporary World* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1986), p. 10.

[17] *Congressional Record*, Vol. 130, No. 185, June 20, 1984, p. H 6126.

[18] *Congressional Record*, Vol. 130, No. 85, pp. H 6126 and H 6127.

[19] *Congressional Record*, Vol. 132, No. 139, October 9, 1986, p. H 9733.

[20] *Congressional Record*, Vol. 130, No. 84, June 19, 1984, p. H 6054.

[21] *Congressional Record*, Vol. 132, No. 139, October 9, 1986.

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Associate Editor Roy Beck is an award-winning journalist and author of several books including Re-charting America's Future *published in 1994 by* THE SOCIAL CONTRACT PRESS.

Back to the Back of the Bus

By Roy Beck

"If employers hire from the front of the queue and if blacks are disproportionately at the back — behind immigrants and native-born members of other racial groups — then blacks will suffer the greatest deterioration in employment when the number of immigrants grows."

Harvard's Ronald F. Ferguson offered that statement in 1989 as part of the National Academy of Science's expansive study of blacks in America. Certainly, Ferguson's description holds true for most of U.S. history. Only a few journalists have looked closely to see if it is true today. Those few, however, have asked tough questions, pounded the pavement and worked the phones for answers the last two years, providing readers clear portraits of the very real pain that immigration inflicts on African Americans in the job market.

Three of the most revealing journalistic studies have been done by Jonathan Tilove of Newhouse Newspapers, the nation's third largest chain, and by Jonathan Kaufman and Rochelle Sharpe of the *Wall Street Journal*. Along with a few other reporters who have studied the angle, they have found that the job market indeed is discriminating in favor of immigrants and against blacks.

When the hiring line has been short in tight-labor markets, blacks enjoyed their greatest overall advancement. Between 1940 and 1970 when immigration was quite low, for example, the black middle class population grew from 22 percent to 71 percent. With the advent of mass immigration since then, however, the middle class has been shrinking and a third of blacks are now mired in poverty.

By bringing in additional foreign workers, Congress lengthens the hiring lines and almost assuredly moves many blacks farther from the front. Ferguson indicated that since 1973 the propensity for blacks to occupy less lucrative occupations and to work in industries that offered lower pay is at least partly due to Congress filling the front of the hiring line with so many new immigrants.

Sharpe: Only Blacks Lose

Rochelle Sharpe analyzed all the records of the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission during the 1990-91 recession. Her findings were startling: in all the nation's companies that have to report to the EEOC, there was no net loss of employment during the recession for Hispanics and Asian Americans. But there were plenty of losses for the descendants of slaves.

The records pointed to the possibility that employers were using the recession as an excuse to fire blacks while retaining and hiring people of other ethnicities, in order to keep their total minority numbers looking good.

At those large firms, Asians and Hispanics **gained** 55,104 jobs and 60,040 jobs, respectively, during the recession. But blacks **lost** 59,479 jobs.

Mid-size and big businesses increased their employment of Asians in 39 states while they cut their employment of blacks in 36 states. Only in Alabama, Arkansas and Louisiana where immigration was minimal did the employment of blacks increase significantly.

Blacks suffered their worst losses in the states with the highest immigration. In Florida, black job losses were at a rate five times higher than for all others. In Illinois, blacks were the only racial group to suffer a net loss. In New York, black employment was "devastated." In California, the companies eliminated jobs for 11,000 blacks net, while they increased employment for 9,000 Asians during the recession.

Tilove: Undoing Affirmative Action

In a landmark series, Jonathan Tilove provided a closer view of how businesses are helping immigrants cut in line ahead of African-Americans. Ironically, he found, programs of affirmative action — meant to compensate for centuries of legalized discrimination against blacks — now are being used by employers to **avoid** hiring blacks.

A pharmaceutical company which had shown a

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very favorable increase in minority hiring, for example, did so primarily by hiring Pakistani, Indian and Vietnamese workers. William Kilberg, a former Labor Department solicitor, commented: "A lot of these people are easy to hire. They're trained, they're educated, they're hardworking, and you get a bonus. Not only are they people who you would have hired anyway, but they are characterized as minorities." Hiring them lessens the pressure to hire blacks.

A former director of an employment agency for Cambodian refugees in Chicago said he was surprised how often companies would tell him directly, "We want to phase out our blacks and bring in Asians. It keeps us clear in EEOC and gets us better workers."

"Throughout the U.S. economy, affirmative action has become a tool 'that greases the displacement of blacks by immigrants' Tilove concluded."

Throughout the U.S. economy, affirmative action has become a tool "that greases the displacement of blacks by immigrants," Tilove concluded. "Immigration is undoing affirmative action's underlying mission to undo history by helping America's black people."

Kaufman: Unwritten Law

Immigration enthusiasts often speak admiringly of the entrepreneurial efforts of immigrants. But because of ethnic networking, few of the jobs they create ever benefit actual native-born Americans. Jonathan Kaufman found lots of anecdotal evidence that native-born black Americans are even less likely to find a job at an immigrant-owned business.

He followed young black men whom he considered employable as they sought jobs at dozens of immigrant businesses without success, running afoul of an "unwritten law" that immigrants don't hire black Americans. Even black immigrants tend not to hire black Americans, Harvard sociologist Mary Waters reported.

Although 25 percent of New York's population is black, only 5 percent of the employees at Korean-owned stores are black, according to studies by Pyong Gap Min, a sociologist at Queen's College who is Korean-American. Even in black neighborhoods, he found, Korean stores hire more Hispanics than blacks. The majority of owners don't believe blacks are as intelligent or honest as others, Min says: "They haven't met middle-class blacks, so it is easy to generalize."

In Los Angeles, only 2 percent of Korean businesses hire blacks. And in the rapidly growing electronics industry which has a large number of immigrant firms, blacks are under-represented by half. David Sun, a Chinese immigrant, said he tries to hire and work with black employees but that he has trouble respecting black culture. Charles Woo, owner of a Los Angeles wholesale toy business, said blacks have a negative image and don't mix well with workers of other backgrounds.

Immigrants settle disproportionately where blacks disproportionately live. As the immigrants gain control of higher and higher percentages of businesses in those urban cores, it becomes increasingly difficult for African Americans to find work. The failure to find work fuels the image of American blacks, especially young men, as being lazy. Actually, they are competing fiercely to get any kind of job. At a single McDonald's, for example, 300 people a month — most of them black — seek jobs at $4.25 an hour. Katherine Newman, an anthropologist at Columbia University, says the average fast-food restaurant in the area has 14 applicants for every opening.

Discrimination In Loose Markets

Thanks to immigrant-owned firms and ethnic networking among employees of native-owned firms, "there are tens of thousands of jobs in New York City for which the native-born are not candidates," Elizabeth Bogan wrote in her book, *Immigration In New York.*

As tough a climb as blacks have had within a majority white society, the going gets tougher as the population is composed more and more of other races, ethnic groups and nationalities. A 1994 survey found that Americans of European background have the least negative attitudes toward blacks. People were asked to respond to the statement: "Even if given a chance, (blacks) aren't capable of getting ahead." Only 12 percent of whites agreed. But the pejorative stereotype was held by twice as many Asians and three times as many Latinos.

As the immigrant population burgeoned in

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California during the 1980s, blacks found the job market deteriorating. The employment of African Americans as bank tellers fell 39 percent while the jobs for foreign-born tellers increased by 56 percent. Stuart Silverstein of the *Los Angeles Times* reported that the number of black hotel maids and housemen dropped 30 percent while the number of immigrants with those jobs rose 166 percent. The 1990 Census also found that immigrants replaced native-born Americans in the occupations of garment sewers, restaurant waiters and busboys, hospital nursing assistants and orderlies. Blacks "have been squeezed into a smaller segment of the economy," Roger Waldinger, a UCLA sociologist, told Silverstein.

"Immigration ... loosens the labor market, lengthens the hiring lines and drives down wages."
— General Accounting Office

Reynolds Farley of the University of Michigan notes that blacks should have done much better during the time of national economic expansion in the 1980s. Among the factors in favor of blacks were "the civil rights changes of the 1960s and the apparent removal of the many barriers which once kept blacks in the back of the bus, out of schools, confined to menial jobs, and away from the polling booths in southern states." In addition, the large gaps between black and white school enrollments in 1960 were nearly erased.

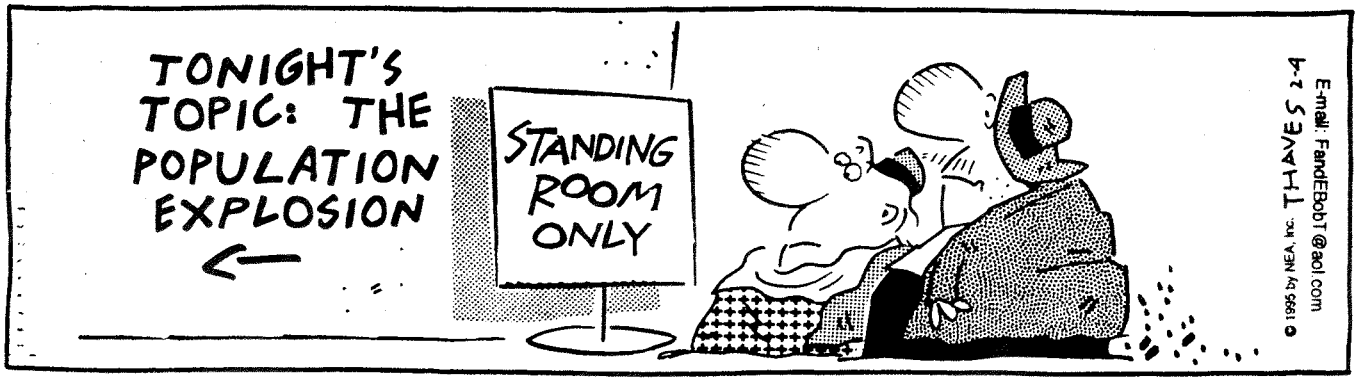
What has been missing and what once again would give economic hope to blacks is a tight-labor market, Farley says. Nicolas Lemann suggested the same remedy in his 1992 book, *The Promised Land.*

Immigration moves the nation in the opposite direction. It loosens the labor market, lengthens the hiring lines and drives down wages, the U.S. General Accounting Office confirmed after a study in 1988: "In general, an increase in the number of potential workers will tend to reduce prevailing wage levels. This would occur whether the increase is the result of the growth of the native population, legal immigration or illegal immigration."

The work of a few inquisitive reporters suggests that the social processes that keep many blacks at the back of the hiring line not only are firmly entrenched but are being reinforced by high immigration. The one remedy that always has helped black employment, even in the midst of the worst racial attitudes, has been to shorten the hiring line — or at least not add to it — according to historians of the post-Civil War period and the era beginning with World War I.

Nothing would tighten the labor market any faster — and in the process improve economic conditions for black Americans — than to stop immigration. ■

FRANK & ERNEST



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Several writers are alluding to the General Accounting Office Report describing the loss by black workers of jobs in Los Angeles. Here we reprint that section from Illegal Aliens: Influence of Illegal Workers on Wages and Working Conditions of Legal Workers, *GAO/PEMD-88-13BR, March 1988, pages 40,41.*

Janitors in the Los Angeles Area

United States General Accounting Office

In the post-World War II period, the janitors working in the high rise districts of Los Angeles, about half of whom were U.S. blacks, had won excellent wages and working conditions under the leadership of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU). But in the early 1980s, a group of aggressive nonunion firms, who hired predominantly illegal workers, were able to wrest the best building contracts from the unionized firms. As a result, wages fell and most of the U.S.-born black janitors lost their jobs. In Los Angeles in the late 1970s and early 1980s, two groups of janitorial firms came into intense competition with each other — large, unionized contractors, and midsized, nonunion contractors.

The large contractors had a heavily U.S.-born black work force. Compensation in 1983 at the peak had reached over $12 an hour including benefits. Its work force was represented by Local 399 of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) which had successfully used the strike threat to win well-paying, full-time jobs for the workers it represented. At the beginning of this period, the large, unionized contractors controlled almost all of the lucrative contracts in the high rise buildings in downtown Los Angeles. Meanwhile the mid-sized, nonunion firms paid less than $4 per hour, had a predominantly Hispanic international migrant work force, and specialized in contracts for the smaller suburban buildings. In one surveyed nonunion firm, 94 percent of its workers were found to be working in the United States illegally. The gap in labor costs between the types of firms exposed the unionized firms to attack.

In the early 1980s, a small group of aggressive midsized firms sensed the vulnerability of the unionized firms and made their move. At labor costs half as large as those of the unionized firms, the new contenders made attractive offers to building managers. By 1985, the nonunion firms had succeeded in winning away most of the downtown contracts from the large firms. The union was forced through this competition to sign special contracts in suburban areas at $4 an hour and below. Meanwhile, the higher-paid standard agreement contracts shrunk to cover only 100 workers.

In 1977, the union estimated that approximately 2,500 black janitors were working under union protection. By 1985, this number had declined to 600 of which only 100 were still protected by a high-wage contract — the other 500 were covered by a less generous contract and had suffered a cut in compensation.

"...by 1983 the tide had turned against the native janitors. The union went into rapid decline and wages fell precipitously."

The native workers protected by Local 399 had experienced steadily improving conditions since the late 1940s. Even during the 1977 to 1983 period, the union was able to protect its workers with a viable strike threat at the large unionized companies. However, by 1983, the tide had turned against the native janitors. The union went into rapid decline and wages fell precipitously.

Evidence of the decline in wages for Los Angeles janitors as a result of the use of predominantly illegal aliens by nonunion contracting firms was disclosed by survey research among employers and workers. This drop in wages was independently corroborated by government statistics. The Bureau of Labor Statistics' survey of a sample of janitorial firms revealed a 14 percent drop in wages from 1983 to 1985. This drop occurred even though these years witnessed a period of economic expansion and increased demand for janitors in Los Angeles. ■

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John Sullivan is a lawyer who writes about minority issues.

Immigration and African Americans

By John Sullivan

For African Americans, it is a supreme and frustrating irony that in the same year, 1965, Congress produced both the Voting Rights Act, forever changing Southern politics, and the Immigration and Nationality Act, establishing family unity preference as the paramount priority of national immigration policy. At that time, both were viewed as part of the civil rights movement. The extraordinary immigration of the intervening three decades, however, has pushed African Americans and immigration into conflict.

The Immigration and Nationality Act allowed immediate relatives of American citizens — spouse, children, and parents — to enter the United States to join their families, without numerical limit and regardless of their country of origin. Prior to passage of the legislation Senator Ted Kennedy promised that the policy of family reunification "will not flood our cities with immigrants. It will not upset the ethnic mix of our society." His brother Robert guessed that Asian immigration might reach 5,000 the first year, "but we do not expect that there would be a great influx after that." In a speech delivered at the Statue of Liberty after signing the legislation President Lyndon Johnson assured his audience that, "this is not a revolutionary act. It will not change the lives of millions." All three were very wrong.

Due to the chain migration resulting from family reunification — one immigrant eventually bringing in many relatives — the Act fueled massive immigration on a scale the country had not experienced since before World War I. By 1981, a presidential commission headed by Rev. Theodore Hesburgh of Notre Dame acknowledged that immigration was "out of control." Subsequent legislative efforts to reduce immigration, such the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, have failed. The 1986 act actually increased immigration by legalizing, through amnesty, 3 million unauthorized immigrants who can now bring their relatives into the country. The 1990s are expected to yield the largest number of immigrants of any decade in the history of the United States.

According to Dr. Frank Morris of the Center for Immigration Studies, immigration in all its forms — legal and illegal immigrants, refugees, and asylees — has expanded the foreign-born population of the United States at nearly six times the rate of growth of the domestic population. Nearly 60 percent of the population of Miami is now foreign-born as is almost half of East Los Angeles. These percentages may even understate the actual size of the foreign-born populace given the recognized undercount of illegal immigrants.

The net fiscal impact of this unprecedented immigration is hotly debated. Donald Huddle, an economics professor at Rice University in Texas, places the costs to all levels of government in Medicaid, AFDC, food stamps, unemployment compensation, and general assistance at $45 billion annually. Jeffrey Passel, the director of immigration research at the Urban Institute, a Washington think tank, believes that immigrants contribute $12 billion more each year than the cost in schooling, health care, and other services.

Whatever the effect on the country in macro-economic terms, the impact on African Americans is undeniable and devastating.

Immigrants typically compete for jobs with the most disadvantaged members of society. If immigrants dispersed evenly throughout the United States, the burden of immigration would be dispersed as well. But immigration strikes African Americans with added intensity because almost half of all immigrants are settling in six areas: Los Angeles, New York City, Chicago, Miami, San Francisco, and Houston. One-fifth of the nation's African Americans live in these cities.

In testimony before the House Subcommittee on Immigration and Claims in April, Dr. Morris explained that the massive, concentrated influx of labor, particularly unskilled labor, inevitably leads to wage depression and job displacement. African Americans have been especially impacted because they "have less education, work experience, and small business creation rates than other Americans." Displacement of African Americans by immigration has been most

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thorough in the construction, restaurant and hotel, and light manufacturing industries.

A 1988 General Accounting Office study of unionized black janitors in Los Angeles showed that displacement occurs in other industries as well. Three-fourths of the janitors who once cleaned high rise office buildings were displaced by Mexican immigrants over a five year period in the early 1980s, even though total janitorial employment rose. This happened because the Mexicans were willing and able to work for lower wages.

One of the traditional entry level jobs that sometimes leads to better opportunities is driving a taxicab. As was reported in the Summer 1994 issue of *The Social Contract*, more than 90 percent of the New York City cab driver applicants are now immigrants.

"The language barrier renders social networking among immigrants even more insurmountable for African Americans."

Lower wages are not the only reason displacement occurs. Another vital force is the social networking among immigrants. Employers need not advertise openings since word of available jobs is passed among the immigrants. Cambodians run more than 80 percent of the doughnut shops in California. In the garment districts of Los Angeles, Miami, and New York City, writes Richard Rothstein, a columnist for the Spanish language publication *La Opinion*, entire plants are staffed by immigrants from the same village in Mexico, El Salvador or China.

The language barrier renders social networking among immigrants even more insurmountable for African Americans. A 1993 decision by the federal court for the Seventh Circuit, *EEOC v. O & G Spring Wire Forms*, illustrates this.

O & G Spring Wire Forms Specialty Company was founded in the mid-Sixties by Ted Gryeziewicz, who had fled communist Poland for the west side of Chicago. His business grew to employ 50 people, all of whom were Polish or Hispanic; none was African American. Despite what the court described as "low pay and apparently poor working conditions," the Polish and Hispanic immigrants eagerly sought work with O & G because operating presses to manufacture springs required little experience and no English proficiency. There was such a steady stream of immigrant applicants for jobs that O & G never had to advertise openings. Because Polish or Spanish was spoken on the shop floor, the likelihood of an African American being hired was further reduced.

The court in *EEOC v. O & G Spring & Wire Forms* ordered Mr. Gryeziewicz to pay $378,000 in back pay to area African Americans. The EEOC, however, can only bring this kind of action against businesses with at least 15 employees. Most immigrants hired through ethnic networking work in smaller businesses.

Job displacement of African Americans is frequently followed by their geographic displacement, as Professors James Johnson and Curtis Roseman, writing in *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, have shown.

The authors used Los Angeles as a case study. African American migration from elsewhere in the United States to Los Angeles began in the late 1800s. Lured by the same vision of greater economic and social opportunity that attracted whites as well as other minorities, African American migration peaked in the post-war boom of the 1940s and 1950s. Even though the area's economy continued to expand in the 1960s, the number of African Americans arriving in Los Angeles was overtaken by the number of those leaving. Much of the reason, Professors Johnson and Roseman state, is that African Americans "face competition from immigrants from Mexico, other parts of Latin America, and Asia, many of whom have carved out occupational niches for themselves in the bustling Los Angeles economy."

Supporters of continued widespread immigration counter by saying that immigrants take jobs native-born Americans would not. In some cases that is true. The Department of Labor reports that most migrant workers in this country are foreign born. These migrants average about $6.00 an hour for grueling, transient work. The Haitians toiling in Florida's citrus fields and the Hmong from Cambodia laboring on Minnesota dairy farms are not displacing African-Americans.

But African American workers cannot and should not be expected to compete with illegal immigrants willing to work at below minimum wage. As Vernon Briggs of Cornell University has said, immigrants will "work in violation of child labor laws and other

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employment standards. Literally speaking, no citizen or permanent resident can compete with such workers."

African Americans are being displaced politically as well. In testimony before Congress in April 1995, Norman Matloff of the University of California gave an example. When a fiscal crisis forced San Francisco to lay off some college administrators, he explained, the Chinese American Democratic Club lobbied so strenuously that no Asian Americans were pink slipped. Instead, several African American administrators were laid off.

Shifts in political muscle are directly related to demographic changes. 1990 Census Bureau data reveals that of the 20 largest cities in the United States, in four — Los Angeles, San Diego, Phoenix, and San Antonio — African Americans are outnumbered by Hispanics. In San Francisco, there are more Asians than African Americans. In San Jose, both Asians and Hispanics are more numerous than African Americans. Due to immigration, African Americans are no longer the dominant minority in the country; there are more Asians and Hispanics combined than blacks. In a few years Hispanics alone will outnumber African Americans.

The sheer force of demographics is altering the African American share of the business sector. Joshua I. Smith, former chair of the United States Commission on Minority Business Development, has predicted that the percentage of small, minority-owned businesses owned by African Americans will slip from its current 28 percent to 18 percent by the year 2002. With overstated, though understandable, pessimism, he says, "In 10 years [African Americans] won't make a difference."

Tragically, struggles between minority groups sometimes turn violent. In 1980, the acquittal of an Hispanic policeman who had killed an African American motorist incited three days of rioting. The United States Commission on Civil Rights later compiled "Confronting Racial Isolation in Miami," a 350 page examination of the riot's causes. The Commission concluded: "Undeniably the violence that exploded in May 1980 was a sense of the black community's inability to produce change or affect fate ... By all social indicators blacks have been excluded from the mainstream of Miami..."

The Los Angeles riots following the acquittal of the policemen who beat Rodney King was similarly fueled by immigration. As former Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall points out, immigration has permitted American businesses to pursue the Third World strategy of a low wage, low skilled work force. In no city is that strategy more apparent than in Los Angeles where, between the Watts riot of 1965 and the Rodney King riot of 1992, the Hispanic percentage of the city quadrupled. Without jobs, many African Americans have left Los Angeles, further reducing African American economic and political clout.

"What was surprising about the ballot initiative was how consistent support for Prop 187 was among various groups — African Americans (56%), Asians (57%) and all voters (59%)."

In November 1994, Californians overwhelmingly approved Proposition 187, a ballot initiative barring illegal aliens from receiving almost all publicly funded benefits. The success of Prop 187 was not surprising. Polls now show most Americans in favor of more restrictions on immigration. What was surprising about the ballot initiative was how consistent support for Prop 187 was among various groups — African Americans (56%), Asians (57%), and all voters (59%). But illegal immigration represents only a fraction of total immigration. Are Americans similarly ready to reduce legal immigration?

The answer increasingly is yes. The Federation for Immigration Reform has long called for a "time out" on immigration. Peter Brimelow's book *Alien Nation*, published earlier this year, persuasively makes this same argument. Many have called for an immigration policy no longer based almost exclusively on family reunification. Instead, immigration should be tied to unemployment. In times of higher unemployment, fewer immigrants would be permitted. This would be fairer not only to African Americans, the most frequent competitors of these immigrants, but to all Americans. ■

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Immigration Buries U.S. Blacks

By Richard Estrada

With yet another wave of Cuban newcomers on the way under the new Clinton-Castro immigration accord, and with the approach of the 1996 election year, Florida is destined to mimic California's raucous immigration debate of 1994.

Yet it is almost as likely that the voices of one segment of Florida's citizenry will be turned out. It will not be the first time the arguments of low-wage, low-skill African-Americans and their political champions have fallen on deaf ears.

Today's wave of immigration in Florida and across the country has swept scores of thousands of low-skill African-Americans out of the labor market, into welfare and even crime. While welfare reform is very much needed, such an initiative without genuine immigration reform will only intensify the problems facing America's own poor and dispossessed.

In both Miami and Los Angeles, African-Americans used to dominate the hotel-cleaning industry. Today, Hispanic newcomers do. In Chicago, inner-city restauran-teurs routinely express a preference for hiring Mexican newcomers with low skills over their black counterparts. And in Manhattan, native-born blacks must compete not only with immigrants from Latin America but also with Chinese workers who are virtual indentured servants.

This argument isn't universally accepted. Studying the Mariel refugee influx of 1980, economist David Card of Princeton University concluded that after 125,000 Cubans flooded into South Florida in four months, no adverse impact on the local labor market was registered.

Card's 1990 study has been widely cited in part because there are so few other case studies. The trouble is that his conclusion presumes to repeal the law of supply and demand in labor economics: The greater the number of workers who vie for a job, the lower the wages and working conditions an employer will be obligated to offer.

And then there is the question of which workers are to be studied. A mail carrier, for example, will not take home a shrunken paycheck as a result of a sudden surge of low-skill workers into his community. And Card included low-wage federal employees and all other low-wage workers in his study.

Instead of measuring the immigration-related impact upon those Americans *least likely* to suffer immigration-related harm in the labor market, shouldn't common sense and scholarship have dictated a concentration on those *most likely* to be affected by such competition?

In addition, Card raises but fails to answer a key question: Were there Americans who chose not to move to Miami — or, having lived there for several years, chose to leave — because they knew it was an immigrant-saturated labor market where wages and working conditions were particularly depressed?

Today, about 75 percent of all newcomers to America settle in just six states and in those states' major urban areas. (In addition to California and Florida, they are Texas, New York, New Jersey and Illinois.) The valid point about "disproportionate impact" can be carried too far, however.

The American labor force as a whole has many high-skilled workers at the top, yet it also has a huge and growing number of low-skilled workers at the bottom. Sadly, anywhere from 20 million to 40 million Americans are functionally illiterate or subliterate. This is a national problem if ever there was one.

"Public policy should be used to bolster the middle class as opposed to allowing a haphazard immigration system to pull society further apart."

Labor economists point out that America's skills picture has an "hour-glass" distribution. Society is becoming increasingly polarized. "Average" skills among those in the middle are misleading because the number of workers to be found at the middle of the

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hourglass is shrinking.

Public policy should be used to bolster the middle class as opposed to allowing a haphazard immigration system to pull society further apart. Against this backdrop, three things are sorely needed: the cessation of illegal immigration, lower levels of legal immigration, and a selection process that restricts low-skilled admissions. Not only would such initiatives serve the national interest, they also would protect our most vulnerable citizens.

In the end, the argument is little different from that made by the great black leader Booker T. Washington at the end of the 19th century. At the time, he implored American's industrialists to look to his people, freed slaves turned full citizens, for America's labor force needs. "Cast down your buckets here," he begged.

Not for the first time — and perhaps not for the last — he and those he championed were promptly ignored. ■

The Size of the Problem

According to Soren Pedersen, a representative of the UN High Commission for Refugees to the UN in New York, there are "three radical changes in refugee situations in recent years."

"**First**, the sheer number of people fleeing war, oppression, or famine in their homelands has vastly increased. Not many years ago, a situation that produced a hundred thousand refugees seemed large. Now, we have nearly 4 million refugees and displaced persons in former Yugoslavia alone, and many more who have fled to other countries. Perhaps 3 million have fled from Afghanistan. Of the total population of 8 million Rwandans, a half million may have been killed, over 1.8 million are refugees in Tanzania, Zaire, and Burundi, and another million are displaced within Rwanda. There are now over 50 million refugees and displaced persons worldwide, and that has put tremendous strains on the entire international system of humanitarian assistance to refugees."

"**Second**, the movement of these masses is far more rapid than ever before. In April, as many as 200,000 Rwandans crossed into Tanzania in 24 hours. A few months later, more than a million crossed into Goma, Zaire within three or four days. When so many people converge on one spot so quickly, it is virtually impossible for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and voluntary organizations like IRC to bring enough resources to bear quickly enough to prevent serious outbreaks of disease or high rates of malnutrition and dehydration. In Goma, a cholera epidemic broke out almost immediately, and was not brought under control until the U.S. Army was able to ensure an adequate supply of clean drinking water."

"**Third**, Mr. Pedersen noted the increasing violence and the seemingly intractable nature of the conflicts that give rise to these tremendous movements of people, within and across international borders. Working in these situations puts relief workers at far greater risks than ever before, and because the conflicts are so difficult to resolve, refugees may remain unable to return to their homes and dependent on international assistance, for many years."

— International Rescue Committee Field Reports, Fall 1994.

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Help Wanted: No Blacks Need Apply

By Jonathan Kaufman

In the 16 years that he has built his wholesale toy business in downtown Los Angeles, Charles Woo has helped several other Chinese and a number of Vietnamese immigrants start their own small businesses. As his company has grown, he has hired whites and Mexican immigrants.

But one group hasn't benefitted from Mr. Woo's success: American-born blacks.

Early on, Mr. Woo hired some African-Americans. But now his 22-person work force at Megatoys is made up of Chinese and Mexican immigrants and a handful of whites.

Mr. Woo says he isn't prejudiced. But when he has an opening in the warehouse, he says, he is likely to fill it with another Mexican immigrant, probably recruited by his workers. Blacks have a "negative image," he says, and they don't mix well with workers of other backgrounds.

The reluctance of Mr. Woo and other immigrant entrepreneurs to hire American-born blacks represents one of the workplace's great cleavages. As immigrant-owned businesses grow — and shed the image of mom-and-pop stores employing a few relatives — they are recruiting Mexican-Americans, West Indians and other immigrants. But while they are minorities themselves, many immigrant bosses are refusing to employ the nation's largest minority, sometimes invoking troubling stereotypes to explain themselves.

No Experience Available

The impact is serious, according to many blacks and experts who study poverty. These entrepreneurs are creating the very kind of entry-level, low-wage jobs that poor young blacks need to begin their climb out of poverty. Jobs such as bagging tomatoes at the corner store, working on the factory floor, washing dishes and clearing tables at restaurants are where inexperienced workers traditionally learn the unspoken culture of work: the importance of showing up on time, dealing with a boss, interacting with customers.

Anthony Broughton, a 21-year-old black, went on a lengthy job search in New York's Harlem, looking for any minimum-wage job at dozens of Korean-owned stores up and down 125th Street, the main business thoroughfare. He came up empty.

"They Ignored Me"

"They just ignored me, but then they hire Mexicans, Spanish people — ones that barely speak English," Mr. Broughton says. He finally landed a job for $4.75 an hour handing out fliers for a black-owned Ben & Jerry's ice-cream franchise.

At a clothing store called 125 Champs, one of the places where Mr. Broughton sought work, owner Seong Hwang says he sometimes hires black workers; he currently employs two blacks, as well as a Korean and an Ecuadoran. But he says black workers sometimes work just two or three months before they announce that they don't like the work and quit. He says immigrants, especially illegal immigrants, are more dependable. "They can't get welfare," he says. "They have no choice."

Indeed, new immigrants, especially if they entered the U.S. illegally, are usually unaware of the labor laws, and may not be inclined to complain about low wages or lousy working conditions for fear of deportation. Some immigrant store owners say they often pay other immigrants $200, off the books, for six 12-hour days a week — well below minimum wage.

Researchers estimate that immigrant-owned businesses now account for one-quarter of all low-wage jobs in New York and Los Angeles, and as many as one-third of entry-level jobs in these cities.

In Southern California's rapidly growing electronics industry — with a burgeoning number of immigrant-owned companies, some of them approaching $1 billion in sales — blacks account for just 3.6 percent of factory workers, though they represent 8.5 percent of Southern California's population. Asian immigrants, by contrast, account for 18.4 percent of production workers, while Hispanics, most of them immigrants, account for another 29.3 percent. Hispanics represent 32 percent of the region's population and Asians 9 percent.

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"It's Discrimination"

In New York, whose population is 25 percent black, only 5 percent of the employees who work at Korean-owned stores are American blacks, while more than a third are Mexican and Latin American immigrants, according to Pyong Gap Min, a sociologist at New York City's Queens College who studies Korean-Americans and who is one himself. He says that even in black neighborhoods such as Harlem, where Koreans now own many of the stores, only 30 percent of the employees are black. More than 40 percent are Hispanic immigrants.

"...even in black neighborhoods such as Harlem, where Koreans now own many of the stores, only 30% of the employees are black. More than 40% are Hispanic immigrants."

In Los Angeles, which is 17 percent black, only 2 percent of small Korean-owned businesses hire blacks, whereas 17 percent hire Hispanics, according to researchers at the University of California at Los Angeles's Center for the Study of Urban Poverty.

"It's discrimination and it's prejudice," says Clifford Simmons, an official with Harlem's Abyssinian Baptist Church. Mr. Simmons, 38, got two of his first jobs as a teenager in Harlem more than 20 years ago delivering meat and bagging groceries at stores owned by whites. As immigrants from Korea and the Dominican Republic have bought Harlem businesses, Mr. Simmons has seen many of those jobs disappear, first going to family members of the owners and now to other immigrants.

Ruxton McDougald, a 16-year-old black student from a middle-class family, says he got the cold shoulder when he tried to get an after-school job delivering Chinese food in his all-black neighborhood in Queens. He figured he had a good chance since he owned a bicycle and had work experience at McDonald's and a local drugstore. But the restaurant wouldn't hire him, nor would a fish market run by Asian immigrants.

"They give you the feeling that you can't do the job, that they just want to get you out the door," he says. His mother, Linda McDougald, says it is widely understood that most immigrants won't hire blacks: "It's like an unwritten law."

Even so, immigrant entrepreneurs say they aren't prejudiced. Many of them say job openings are quickly filled by friends and relatives of other workers. And they say some blacks and native-born whites are reluctant to put in the long hours and endure the poor conditions that working for an immigrant employer requires. But immigrants admit to being put off by the image of blacks presented in the media and in the movies.

Cultural Differences

Consider David Sun, a Chinese immigrant and co-founder of Southern California-based Kingston Technology Corp., a fast-growing high-tech company. Of 370 employees, Mr. Sun employs just a handful of blacks. He says he hires half the blacks who apply and works closely with them to help them succeed. But he also says: "Oriental culture is humble — you hide your emotions, you don't brag. When I see Mike Tyson and all these fighters and singers dress like that, talk like that, with gold all over their bodies — I cannot respect people like that." Dennis Rodman, the flamboyant basketball star, is "weird," Mr. Sun goes on. "I don't see white players acting like that."

Moreover, immigrant entrepreneurs resent the idea that they have a responsibility to hire blacks or that, like large corporations, they should be held to affirmative-action guidelines. Part of the reason: they say they are victims, too. "A lot of immigrants feel underprivileged," says Mr. Woo, who runs the toy company. "It's difficult to preach to immigrants about the obligations of American society when they are trying to survive."

These entrepreneurs voice deep suspicion that black workers make trouble, whereas other immigrants do what they are told — and go quietly if fired.

Blacks don't "do the job right, and then when they get fired they complain" says J. Young Choe, a Korean immigrant who employs six Mexican immigrants but no blacks at his Manhattan restaurant.

"If I hire a black and make a little mistake, what will the government do to me?" Kingston's Mr. Sun asks.

The negative stereotypes about American blacks are passed from business owner to business owner, often fueled by experience with crime and shoplifting endemic to any poor, violence-ridden neighborhood.

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Rick Park, a Korean immigrant, runs a soul-food restaurant and fish store in Harlem that employs four South American immigrants and two blacks. Mr. Park has never had any trouble with his black employees. But he says that with some black workers, "you have merchandise stolen — sneakers, clothing."

Exclusionary Rule

In a survey of Korean store owners in Harlem and other black neighborhoods in New York, Mr. Min of Queens College found that a large majority believe that blacks are less intelligent, less honest and more prone to criminal acts than whites. "They haven't met middle-class blacks, so it is easy to generalize," Mr. Min says.

Indeed, even some black immigrants are reluctant to hire native-born blacks. When Harvard sociologist Mary Waters looked at companies that employ large numbers of West Indians, she found that these immigrants, as they rise in management, prefer to hire other West Indians over American-born blacks because they believe the Americans are lazy and complain too much.

Immigrant-owned businesses are able to exclude blacks, poverty analysts say, because those businesses aren't policed by the state and federal civil-rights agencies. "No one has tried to enforce civil-rights laws on immigrant enclave businesses," says Philip Kasinitz, a professor of sociology at New York City's Hunter College. "Given the fact that they can't enforce immigration or child-labor laws, that is not surprising."

A spokesman for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission says the agency isn't aware of any pattern of complaints by blacks against immigrant-owned companies, but it considers refusing to hire blacks on the basis of negative stereotypes illegal.

Fierce Competition

The refusal of many immigrant companies to hire blacks promoted another stereotype: that poor blacks don't want to work. In fact, competition for low-wage jobs in poor, black neighborhoods is fierce.

At a McDonald's on 125th Street in Harlem 300 people, most of them black, apply every month for a handful of openings for jobs that pay $4.25 an hour, according to store managers. On average, fast-food restaurants in the area have 14 job applicants for every minimum-wage opening, according to a study done by Katherine Newman, an anthropologist at Columbia University. Most blacks seeking work at Harlem fast-food chains have applied for four or five other jobs, Ms. Newman found.

Making matters worse, blacks still face prejudice from white employers when they look for jobs. At white-owned fast-food restaurants in the upper Manhattan neighborhood, Ms. Newman found that immigrants who applied were far more likely to get hired than blacks — even when they had the same educational level and work experience. In the Red Hook section of Brooklyn, white employers across the street from a predominantly black housing project rarely hire blacks even for menial jobs.

"It's easier finding work for Jamaicans and Haitians," says Cesar Claro, a city official who has placed workers with white employers in Brooklyn. In Los Angeles, entire industries that once employed large numbers of blacks, such as hotels and restaurants, now fill their positions with immigrants.

Some blacks acknowledge that it is at times difficult for them to work for immigrants. "I worked for one Korean guy and he treated me like a slave," said one clothing-store worker who found work under a more congenial Korean boss across the street. A single black mother quit her sales job at a Korean-owned shop when she was ordered to clean windows and scrub the bathrooms when business was slow.

Craig Palmer worked as a cook in a Chinese restaurant six days a week for $5.50 an hour. When he asked for a second day off, he says his boss responded curtly: "We all work six days a week." Mr. Palmer quit, went to college and found a better-paying job.

Some immigrant entrepreneurs acknowledge that they have benefitted from employing blacks. Won Duk Kim, a Korean, employs two blacks at his clothing store on 125th Street, one from Africa, the other an American, and lines the wall over his cash register with testimonies to interracial harmony and plaques from black community groups. His reason for hiring blacks rather than Korean or Hispanic immigrants is simple, he says: they speak English better than he does and relate well with black customers.

But such views appear to be rare. Many of the new entrepreneurs come from Asia, where societies are racially homogeneous, and some "don't share the ideology we have here in terms of racial tolerance, ethnic tolerance, diversity and egalitarianism," says Elijah Anderson, a sociologist at the University of Pennsylvania. ■

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Tara Murphy lives on the Central Coast of California. She is an "urban refugee" from Los Angeles and is currently researching and writing a book on immigration, Living on the Immigration Fault Line: People and Their Stories. *Her opinions on immigration and immigration-related issues have appeared in* The Los Angeles Times, The L.A. Weekly, Mother Jones Magazine, *and various publications throughout California. Her work has also appeared in* The Washington Post.

"We Shall Overwhelm"

By Tara Murphy

"What the f--k are you doing here?" he spat at me. I tightened my grip on Dakota's leash, not because he would have attacked the man, but because I was frightened. "What the f--k are you doing here?" he repeated. "You don't belong here. This (neighborhood) is for blacks and Latinos, not for blue-eyed bitches!" He wore a cheap suit, high-heeled boots, and a wide-collared shirt unbuttoned to the waist. A detailed portrait of the martyred Jesus gazed out at me in tattoo blue. Would the crown of thorns deflect a bullet, I wondered.

I concluded that he was not a "cholo," a street gang member. He wasn't wearing the ultra-white T-shirt, baggy pants and black Nikes of the V-13, the Mexican gang in Venice. This guy was more likely in the Mexican mafia, a *La Familia* felon formed by many years in the California penitentiary system — a common type of enforcer sent to Venice to stake out turf, and intimidate its residents. Still, knowing what I already knew from my twelve years in Los Angeles, I did see him as a domestic terrorist playing his part in the take-over agenda.

"We (Latinos) will take over house by house, block by block. We shall not only overcome, we shall overwhelm!"

Over the past five years Venice had become fifty-percent Latino. On a visit to the community health center I was struck by the ethnic composition in the waiting room: the vast majority were Latina women and children. The rest consisted of an Asian Indian family, one black woman and myself, the only "anglo." The director told me that in 1993, sixty-seven percent of her clients were Latino while they accounted for approximately thirty-nine percent of the general population of Los Angeles County. I surmised that the additional twenty-eight percent who availed themselves of the free clinic's services must be undocumented immigrants.

Browns vs Blacks

I sat in my living room and studied the sounds: sharp, loud, rapid fire. "Semi-automatic," I thought. "Not a Saturday Night Special (a .38 caliber revolver). "Right behind the house. Really close," I calculated. It was dusk on a weekday, the "magic hour" as they call it in the movie business. This time I chose not to sit and wait for ensuing sounds. How often had I measured the crisis level by listening to the siren of a "black and white?" If it was joined by another; if the wail of an ambulance followed; if chopper blades churned the air, and if its powerful beam strafed the rooftops and alleys it meant there had been a hit, that the shooter was still at large.

I decided to see for myself. Still no sirens. I would get to the scene early. I turned the corner, walked a short block and saw the young black man on the sidewalk, and the blood seeping out from under him like an oil slick. A group of black men and women in their twenties were gathering on the corner, their faces yellowed by the street lamp, distress in their eyes. High-pitched moans slipped through fingers pressed over mouths. The Latinos from the immigrant households across the street began to gather. An old woman in an apron, a gaggle of boys at her side, looked at the boy's body with something more than curiosity. Two Latino boys on a bike hovered behind us; the one on the handlebars hoisted himself up to see past the crowd just as a police cruiser appeared. The expression of the young men on the bike, and of those around the Latina woman stunned me: were they

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smirking? Was that exhilaration in their eyes? The old woman turned to go home. The dying boy wasn't one of hers.

The next day I learned that the two young men on the bike had been the shooters, so brazen they had lingered until the police came. I also learned that the boy who had been murdered was a nursing student at UCLA and that he had been killed because he was black.

Education Derailed

Not long before this murder, Latino UCLA students, led by radical MeCHa (*Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan*) activists and a Latino professor had protested for the inclusion of a Chicano Studies Department. The professor had fasted for days. Protesting students set up tents on the campus lawn, and others broke into a student lounge to vandalize computers and furniture. At the time, UCLA's budget was under review to see if it could still accommodate the School of Public Health, or whether it ought to be scaled back. It struck me that health issues, a critical part of any sound society, were being usurped in the media by an ethnocentrist group violently agitating for special treatment and funding.

I found a similar connection in Aptos, a small community on the Central Coast of California. Again, funding was at issue when Aptos High School decided to merge with the Pajaro Valley School District which includes Watsonville, a predominantly Latino farm community. Desegregation was invoked, but rather than a gradual introduction, four hundred Latino students were dramatically infused into the school population. A MeCHa chapter was quickly established at the high school, cries of "racism" and "discrimination" quickly followed. The MeCHa activists advanced the cause of a Latino student who was elected student body president despite his academic record and no history of civic activities, the traditional hallmark of that office. MeCHa and the Latino students then demanded a Chicano Studies course at the same time that the high school administrators considered terminating the Debating Club for lack of funds. Charges of racism were then levelled at the principal who devoted precious time countering these charges in the local media. Eventually, the rest of the student body spoke out, expressing how the quality of their education was being contaminated by the racially charged politics that had infiltrated the school. Resentments deepened and the principal contracted with a "multicultural mediator" to facilitate workshops on racism and diversity. Ultimately, the principal left his position and moved on to a start-up school in Northern California. The school and the community have been so fragmented by these events that the residents of Aptos are requesting that Aptos High School secede from the Pajaro Valley School District, which would terminate the busing of students from Watsonville. The parents cite increasing concerns about the ability of their children to receive not only a quality education, but an adequate one. They are concluding that, among other things, bilingual education, as it stands, has failed. They are watching as standards appear to slip in proportion to accommodations made to Limited English Proficient students. State-wide scores highlight this concern: California student literacy test scores are on a par with those of Louisiana.

Urban schools in Los Angeles have already lost their traditional base of middle-class families. Families of working poor and a dwindling middle class endure campus violence, language barriers, racial tensions, high drop-out rates and low student achievement. This growing disparity between the demands of a 21st Century economy and the dwindling abilities of its future workers is a significant problem. Southern California may well reign as the new century's world center for international trade, finance, manufacturing and entertainment. But the region's growing education and income gap can yield a region wracked by social unrest.

A Black Exodus

The flight of the middle-class from Los Angeles is mirrored by an exodus of working class blacks. As the California state budget allocates more and more funds to respond to the overwhelming needs of K-12, its renowned higher education system becomes more expensive each year, making it increasingly out of reach for many, including black youths.

Entry-level jobs, once the training ground for so many black teenagers, are now held almost exclusively by middle-aged Latinos, as evidenced by a visit to any fast food outlet in Los Angeles. Similarly, affirmative action has taken an unintended twist with Latino-owned businesses hiring within their ethnic community, to the exclusion of all others. Perhaps more troubling is the busting of the mostly black

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custodial workers union by low-wage, non-union Latino workers. The union formerly had lucrative contracts with the high rise office buildings of Los Angeles and Century City. In 1993, *The Los Angeles Times* reported that a combined effort by the INS and the Border Patrol revealed that "at least 35 %" of the members of the Los Angeles Drywallers Union were illegal immigrants who had presented false documents in order to join. Their wages ranged from $15 to $20 per hour.

The exodus of working class blacks is well under way. They are leaving South Central, Watts, Compton, Bell Gardens, Mar Vista, Venice and numerous other communities that are now up to fifty percent Latino. Blacks are heading for the desert communities of Riverside and San Bernardino Counties, or back to the South where the post WWII migration of blacks to the West began. This displacement of blacks from their traditional neighborhoods is not the gentle surrender of territory. It is in response to current reality: economics (including the greed of employers seeking low-wage labor), and the sheer force of demographics. In Venice, the economics of the drug trade degenerated into racial slaughter as the Latino population exploded. As Xavier Hermosillo put it on a MacNeil-Lehrer segment on Los Angeles after the riots: "We (Latinos) will take over house by house, block by block. We shall not only overcome, we shall overwhelm!" The flooding of Venice and other Westside communities set the stage for the domestic terrorism that followed: the two remaining black families in Bell Gardens were fire-bombed out of the neighborhood by Latino gang members. A black family in a predominantly Latino housing project in Mar Vista was also struck by drive-by arsonists. The passivity of recent and illegal immigrants co-signs the actions of gangsters who view this silence as carte blanche. Crime increases, ethnic paranoias set in, and racially-motivated murders become the hallmarks of "multicultural" communities.

Who Are the Victims?

"Concerned citizens have called this meeting with the Los Angeles Police Department to talk about all the violence in Venice," Chief Willie Williams told the large crowd gathered at the Community Center. The bleachers were filled with gang members in baggy pants and Raiders windbreakers. They scanned the room dramatically, then left the auditorium in single file, some hooded, others baring shaved heads and surly mouths. My survey revealed that out of approximately four hundred people, there were fifteen Latinos at the most. Marilyn Martinez, a reporter for the *Evening Outlook*, had already declared in a banner headline: "Race War in Venice," but tonight's assault would be on the police. Fingers jabbed toward the men and women in blue who sat on either side of their Chief. The police were restrained. Their stoicism deflected one accuser after another. The news cameras were there, lights glinting off the police badges, searching the audience for newsworthy faces. Surely someone would name the problem: the gang/drug war that had degenerated into racial slaughter. Someone, anyone would described the "eye for an eye" murders and attempted murders that were rotting Venice. But there was too much fear. We already knew that to place a Neighborhood Watch decal on a front window invited a late-night Molotov cocktail to shatter the glass. And by now we also knew that to be "anglo" or black in Venice was to be a target.

There is an attempt to persuade us, all of us, that Latinos are the true victims in our society. I am galled by the attempt of immigration advocates to hitch a free ride on the Freedom Train by characterizing the "plight" of Latinos as on a par with the enslavement of blacks. How can someone who sprinted across the border last week be considered in the same breath as people who are, in many cases, still struggling to overcome the atrocious psychic scars of slavery?

I watched as the Latino media propagandized this "oppression" on a KMEX television broadcast immediately after the Northridge earthquake. A Latina was shown outside a barely damaged apartment building; the legend beneath her identified her as a *víctima*, whereas the next shot of an anglo man standing in front of his utterly devastated Northridge home bore the legend *surviviendo* (survivor).

Why is it that the children of illegal immigrants are granted the same rights and privileges as the descendants of slaves for whom the Fourteenth Amendment was written into the Constitution? Why should a black child compete with that Latino child for a seat in school, quality attention from educators, diminishing social services and ever-distant opportunities? Why is the proud refrain, "We Shall Overcome" now muffled by the clamor of "We Shall Overwhelm?" ■

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In a letter to the editor of the New York Times *published February 1, 1990 Vernon Briggs comments on the effect of immigration on black unemployment. Dr. Briggs is a professor at the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell University. The letter is reprinted here with his permission.*

Immigration Policy Sends Blacks Back to the South

By Vernon M. Briggs, Jr.

The explanations offered by the Census Bureau for confirmation of the movement of blacks back to the South, where the percentage of black Americans rose in the 1980s, overlooks the major reason for this exodus: namely, the urban black work force has been adversely affected by the resurgence of mass immigration into the cities of the North and West.

As late as 1910, more than 92 percent of the black population lived in the South. It was not until mass immigration from Europe was curtailed by the outbreak of World War I that blacks began to leave the South in unprecedented numbers. After that war, immigration was sharply curtailed by legislation. Immigration receded dramatically over the subsequent four decades. The percentage of the population that was foreign born fell from 13.2 percent in 1920 to a low of 4.7 percent in 1970. By then, the percentage of blacks living in the South had fallen to 53 percent.

In the mid-60s, a new immigration law was adopted. It more than doubled the annual number of legal immigrants admitted. Significant increases have also occurred in refugee admissions (through administrative parole procedures and by new legislation enacted in 1980). Extensive abuses of the laws by illegal immigration, as well as the new gimmick of allowing United States employers to hire tens of thousands of nonimmigrant foreign workers each year have added to the scale of the immigration flow.

As a result, the 1980 Census showed that the foreign-born population had reversed previous declines and had risen to 6.2 percent of the population (the real figure was higher because of the acknowledged undercount of illegal immigrants — especially in areas like New York City and Los Angeles). With the immigration and refugee policy developments of the 1980s, the foreign-born population should easily reach or exceed 9 percent of the population in the 1990 Census.

The impact of immigration is wholly an urban phenomenon. The 1980 Census showed that while 74 percent of the United States population was urban, 92 percent of the foreign born were. In cities like New York the impact has been far greater (for example, 23.6 percent of New York City's population was foreign-born in 1980, and the figure should easily exceed 25 percent in 1990). As the Census report shows, outside of the South the black population is overwhelmingly concentrated in urban areas — especially in the inner cities. Consequently the urban black population has borne the brunt of the competition with immigrants for jobs, training opportunities, community services and housing.

"...the urban black population has borne the brunt of the competition with immigrants for jobs, training opportunities, community services and housing."

In 1981 the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy (the Hesburgh Commission) found that United States immigration policy was "out of control." It urged reforms that would confront "the reality of limitations." Unfortunately, Congress has paid only lip service to this request and has found piecemeal ways to increase the annual flow of immigrants, refugees and nonimmigrant workers. Pending legislation will add only more ways to increase the size of the annual immigrant flow.

As matters stand, immigration is more out of

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control than it was when the reform movement began in the early 1980s. The major deficiency is that immigration policy is primarily designed to accommodate political goals. It is not accountable for its economic consequences. For much of the nation's urban black population outside the South, immigration policy is but a revived instrument of institutional racism. It provides a way to bypass the national imperative to address the employment, job preparation and housing needs of much of the urban black population.

Before the 1920s, the effect of immigration policy was to keep blacks out of the urban North and West; in the 1980s it has sent blacks back to the South. ■

Cost Accounting

When I drive into a gas station in Japan three or four clearly underemployed young men leap into action to wash and wipe the headlights and windows as well as the windscreen, check tire pressures, and all the different oils, in addition to dispensing the fuel. For that excellent service, I have to pay a very high price for the gasoline. The Japanese bureaucracy, determined to protect those low-end jobs for youths who lack the talent for better employment, as well as small gas stations in rural areas, flatly prohibits self-service gas pumps, and in any case forces all gas stations to compete by offering lavish service because fuel prices are fixed by the government and price-cutting is banned.

Back in America, I fill my own tank much more cheaply from a self-service pump, but there are also three or four young men waiting sometimes in person but certainly by implication. But because they are not employed by the gas station, or by anybody else, I do not have to pay their wages through government-imposed high prices for my gas. That is where U.S.-style economic analysis stops; Japanese consumers are being exploited, while the free market provides American consumers with cheap gas.

But in reality, I still have to pay for those young men who are not employed by the gas station. My car insurance rates are higher because of their vandalism and thefts, my taxes must be higher to pay for police, court and prison costs, and even a little by way of welfare benefits. If I am very unlucky, I may have to pay in blood. In a recent article on a Washington youth who, at the age of 17, killed a Korean immigrant while absent from a psychiatric clinic where he had been sent for killing a taxi driver at the age of 15, it was parenthetically noted that more than $100,000 had been spent on his psychiatric treatment; his 30-year prison term will cost another $750,000 or so.

Not counting two deaths and his trial costs, the cost of not employing that one youth would pay for at least 37,777 gallons of gasoline — even at very high Japanese prices. American free-market gasoline is thus very expensively cheap, as compared to Japan's employment-generating, cheaply expensive gasoline.

There is no assurance of course that those young men whom I see loitering would actually take gas station jobs if any were available for them. But what is certain is that in Japan the government acts to ensure that there are job openings for youths incapable of more demanding employment, while in the United States, nothing must stand in the way of free-market efficiency, very narrowly defined to exclude any and all social consequences.

— Edward N. Luttwak
Senior Fellow of the Center for Strategic and International Studies,
author of *The Endangered American Dream*. This portion of his essay
"Will Success Spoil America?": Why the Pols Don't Get our Real Crisis of Values"
is reprinted by permission from the *Washington Post*, November 27, 1994.

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Richard Lamm, former governor of Colorado, received the following letter from a Bangladeshi student asking for help in migrating to the United States. So that you may see the excellent handwriting and the picture accompanying it, we have reproduced these along with Governor Lamm's response. How would you have responded?

A Humble Appeal

Richard Lamm responds to K.S. Shahryer

Dhaka
15.8.94

Dear Sir:

With great respect I beg to say that I shall remain ever grateful to you if you kindly read and respond to my following humble appeal.

I am K. S. Shahryer, a Bangladeshi student. I have no brother or sister. My mother died when I was one year old. My grandmother brought up me. She too died some years ago. Indeed, I am very lonely in this world. I had to struggle much from my childhood. In spite of much problems I have got graduation degree. Now I have to live on house tuition.

Sir, in order to get higher education (I prefer M.B.A.) then a job and a little happiness, I have been desirous and trying much for a long time to go to the U.S.A. or any rich country. I have to study there in undergraduate level, because Bangladeshi graduation (B.A.) degree is not valued everywhere. I have none here to help me to go abroad. You know Bangladesh is one of the poorest countries. Jobs are scarce and salary is too little here.

So, I am writing you, a great person in this hope that you will help me to come to your country for higher education. It will be the best if you can help to get a scholarship. Of course, I shall work there for tuition fees.

Sir, I want your help in any condition. If you like I shall stay with your family and serve you as possible. I shall be very happy if you or anybody of your country takes me even as an adopted son.

Sir, if you are not able at all to help me to go abroad, yet kindly don't miss to send at least $10.00 for postage to write to others. Even such mere postage cost is now hard to me to collect. With this I shall have been writing to many other rich and great persons in different rich countries untill (sic) some one helps me to go abroad. I do hope one day somebody will help me to go abroad. And why won't you be that very person who will help me to fulfil my desire as Lord has made you rich and famous? I am awaiting for your kind response. I beg your pardon for any wrong.

Sincerly (sic),
/s/ Shahryer

* * * *

Governor Richard D. Lamm
5401 East Dakota, #20
Denver, CO 80222

Mr. K. S. Shahryer
[Address]

Dear Mr. Shahryer:

I was impressed with your letter and with the imagination, determination and initiative that it took to write and send. You have great talent and drive.

That said, I would like to explain to you (and perhaps partly to myself) why I must say no.

I believe a country's immigration policy should serve the needs of that country. America, at one time, was an empty continent and needed immigrants, skilled or unskilled. Today, we are no longer an empty continent, but live in crowded strip cities — there are no more blank spots on our map. Our economy has little need for new unskilled — and even skilled — labor. We count millions of our own people unemployed and underemployed, and there are millions more of discouraged workers who are uncounted in the unemployment figures. I believe America's first duty should be to our own unemployed and underemployed.

We are the destination of choice for literally hundreds of millions of people, many of them as deserving as you. All of them have stories that tug at our hearts. But we cannot build an immigration policy one individual at a time. Public policy must ask how many Shahryers we can accept, absorb into our economy, and assimilate into our society. In public

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policy, we must use both our hearts and our heads.

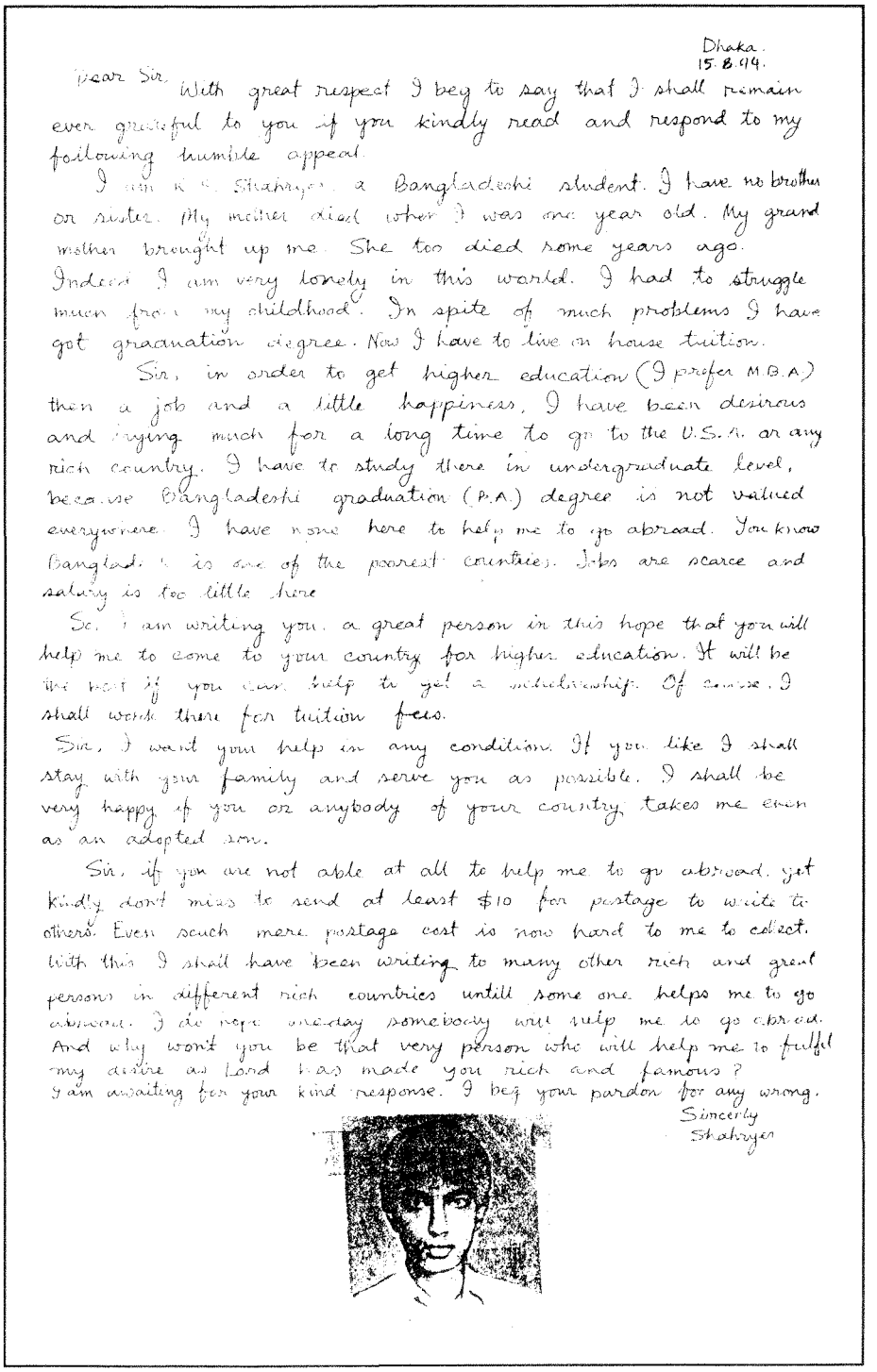
My heart wants to give you a chance, but my head says we must set limits. America's population, if current birthrates continue for 60 years, would level off in 2030 at about 305 million people — 50 million more than we now have. Adding in immigration under current policy, the U.S. population would increase (in 2030) to 436 million and still be growing. The difference between our population stabilizing at approximately 300 million and growing exponentially is our immigration policy.

I do not want my grandchildren living in an America which has two people for every one here today. I do not want the habitable parts of my country populated as densely as Bangladesh — or anything close.

I can think of no public policy reason why we should double the U.S. population. Would it improve our quality of life? Would it improve our own poor? Would it enhance our school systems, or our parks and recreation facilities? Does our economy, with all its current unemployed and underemployed, need more workers? Does our national security need more citizens?

And with all the demands by our own citizens for higher education, how can we pay for the education of others? Please, do not misunderstand me. I admire your asking, but my head says sadly we should use our limited resources on our own citizens. I learned in my 12 years as governor of Colorado that "to govern is to choose." It costs a lot of money to create a job in these high-technology days — about $40,000. The economy and the quality of life in my country cannot accommodate the deserving millions who want to come here.

In a world of want, I am arguing we should dramatically *decrease* our immigration and adopt policies which make sense for our own people. I would bring in mainly *temporary* political refugees



Dhaka.
15.8.94.

Dear Sir, With great respect I beg to say that I shall remain ever grateful to you if you kindly read and respond to my following humble appeal.

I am K. Shahryer, a Bangladeshi student. I have no brother or sister. My mother died when I was one year old. My grand mother brought up me. She too died some years ago. Indeed I am very lonely in this world. I had to struggle much from my childhood. In spite of much problems I have got graduation degree. Now I have to live on house tuition.

Sir, in order to get higher education (I prefer M.B.A) then a job and a little happiness, I have been desirous and trying much for a long time to go to the U.S.A. or any rich country. I have to study there in undergraduate level, because Bangladeshi graduation (B.A.) degree is not valued everywhere. I have none here to help me to go abroad. You know Bangladesh is one of the poorest countries. Jobs are scarce and salary is too little there.

So, I am writing you, a great person in this hope that you will help me to come to your country for higher education. It will be the best if you can help to get a scholarship. Of course, I shall work there for tuition fees.

Sir, I want your help in any condition. If you like I shall stay with your family and serve you as possible. I shall be very happy if you or anybody of your country takes me even as an adopted son.

Sir, if you are not able at all to help me to go abroad, yet kindly don't miss to send at least $10 for postage to write to others. Even such mere postage cost is now hard to me to collect. With this I shall have been writing to many other rich and great persons in different rich countries untill some one helps me to go abroad. I do hope one day somebody will help me to go abroad. And why won't you be that very person who will help me to fulfil my desire as Lord has made you rich and famous? I am awaiting for your kind response. I beg your pardon for any wrong.

Sincerly
Shahryer

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(who should return to their own country when the danger is passed), and spouses and minor children of people we have already accepted. I would, regretfully, say "no" to all the others who want to come. There are simply too many. Our most generous response would alleviate only an infinitesimal part of the need.

I would urge you to stay in Bangladesh and apply your obvious talents and drive toward improving your own country. Make it another Thailand, or Taiwan. Stay and fight for your country and its future. Let us know how we can help you in this. I believe it is better for America to help all of Bangladesh by economic development rather than to rescue one isolated individual by allowing him to migrate here.

I know your country is poor, but so were South Korea, Malaysia and Spain not many years ago. You can make a difference! I know the problems look immense, and doubtless you wonder what one person can do to make it better. But bright, motivated people are the most important economic resource — your country needs your talents.

I wish you good luck.

Yours very truly,

/s/ Richard D. Lamm
Governor of Colorado (1975-1987)

A Question of Merit

"I have always been made sad when I have heard members of any race claiming rights and privileges, or certain badges of distinction, on the ground simply that they were members of this or that race, regardless of their own individual worth or attainments. I have been made to feel sad for such persons because I am conscious of the fact that mere connection with what is known as a superior race will not permanently carry an individual forward unless he has individual worth, and mere connection with what is regarded as an inferior race will not finally hold an individual back if he possesses intrinsic, individual merit. Every persecuted individual and race should get much consolation out of the great human law, which is universal and eternal, that merit, no matter under what skin found, is, in the long run, recognized and rewarded.

— Booker T. Washington, *Up From Slavery*, pp.40,41
Viking Penguin edition, 1986

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Ira Mehlman is Media Outreach Director for the Los Angeles office of the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR).

Brimelow Drops "The Big One"

By Ira Mehlman

Alien Nation, Peter Brimelow's new book about the impact of immigration on the United States, has frequently been referred to as this year's *Bell Curve*. It is an apt comparison, in that both books have received an enormous amount of attention, based primarily on one or two chapters that are viewed as highly controversial.

Brimelow actually makes a very broad case against current immigration policies, but not surprisingly, almost everybody has focused on those chapters that deal with race, ethnicity and culture. The chapters that deal with those issues do not pull many punches. The author is quite clear that he believes that the racial and cultural make-up of today's immigration flow poses a danger to the country. By bringing up subjects that had heretofore been considered taboo, Brimelow has scared a lot of people who have been observing the immigration debate from the sidelines into conceding that our current immigration policies don't make economic sense. He has also forced a lot of those at the center of the debate, who have long deceived themselves into believing that the issue could be settled solely on economic or environmental grounds, out of a comfortable state of denial.

Francis Fukuyama, who has very little else positive to say about *Alien Nation*, acknowledges that its author has changed the terms of the debate. "Peter Brimelow deserves praise for going to the heart of the immigration issue, which is not about economics but about the nature of American nationality," writes Fukuyama in a *National Review* essay. Richard Bernstein, who wrote one of two reviews of *Alien Nation* that appeared in *The New York Times*, similarly concludes that Brimelow has touched a raw nerve. "The strong racial element in current immigration has made it more than ever before a delicate subject. It is to Mr. Brimelow's credit that he attacks it head on, unapologetically."

For all the hard data and logic that economists like George Borjas and Vernon Briggs have brought to this issue over many years, they have never been able to win the argument that immigration is a drain on our economy. Economic arguments from one set of PhDs, contending that our immigration policies are an economic disaster, have always been countered by claims from another group of PhDs, who have data to show that they are an economic windfall. For those without a burning passion for one side or the other, the clash of the PhDs provided the impression that the jury was still out on this issue. This gentlemanly argument among economists could potentially go on forever.

The average person is neither equipped nor inclined to make any sense out of the reams of graphs, charts and formulas which "prove" that immigrants are either shoveling money into our national coffers or that they are an economic black hole to suck up our tax dollars. But it doesn't require some ivory tower academe to tell people how immigration is affecting the national character. That is purely a subjective judgment. Either people are happy with the changes or they are not — and all indications are that most are not.

Advocates for reducing immigration have shied away from making these cultural and racial arguments precisely because they are so powerful. Appeals to people's deepest emotions, particularly their fears, can have devastating consequences. After Oklahoma City, it is evident that there are already too many irrationally angry people running around this country. Culture and race are to the immigration debate what nuclear weapons are to conventional warfare. The immigrant reform proponents have always refrained from bringing up culture and race, cognizant that dropping the "big one" would mean having to deal with the fallout.

In *Alien Nation*, Brimelow seems to have reminded the American intelligentsia of the powerful emotions immigration has the potential to unleash. It frightens them, as well it should. We have reached a point where the public will not sit still while another panel of experts examines the data yet again, only to produce another inconclusive report. The American people seem to be demanding some kind of resolution

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to the debate and it is in everybody's best interest that it be settled on economic grounds rather than on race and culture. Suddenly, the jury has come in for a lot of people on the economic question, and the verdict is that we have a serious problem.

A review of *Alien Nation* in *Newsweek* is illustrative of this sudden willingness of many in the media (who are a good barometer of the intellectual elite) to choose a side on the question of whether immigration is beneficial or harmful to the economy. Toward the end of his review, Tom Morganthau acknowledges that, "Crucially, the economists' rationale for immigration — seems less and less relevant in postindustrial societies... If an educated work force is the key to prosperity, why should America continue to import cheap labor? These are the real questions about U.S. immigration policy — not race, multiculturalism or even bilingual education."

"Until Brimelow turned up the heat by stating the case in terms that make the political and media elite wince, they seemed destined to ponder the environmental and economic pros and cons of immigration indefinitely."

In one of the more savage reviews of *Alien Nation*, which appeared in the *New Yorker*, Michael Lind accuses the author of employing the "rhetoric of an after-dinner speaker at a Klavern banquet." But even he grudgingly concedes, "the questions that Brimelow raises about the effects of immigration on national culture are not themselves illegitimate." Unfortunately, Lind never does tell us how these legitimate concerns about culture might be discussed more politely. Instead, he changes the subject. Why play with dynamite, contends Lind, when the "arguments that Brimelow makes against high levels of immigration — arguments based on concern about the economic and environmental consequences — deserve to be taken seriously even by people who utterly reject his reasoning on the subject of race."

Lind has been around the issue long enough to know that those nice arguments against high levels of immigration — its effects on jobs, wages and loss of wilderness areas — generally go nowhere, other than around in circles. Of course, concerns about the economic and environmental consequences of immigration deserve to be taken seriously. But until Brimelow turned up the heat by stating the case in terms that make the political and media elite wince, they seemed destined to ponder the economic and environmental pros and cons of immigration indefinitely.

One gets the sense in some of the reviews of *Alien Nation* that the reviewers are less shocked by what Brimelow has to say about race and culture than they are upset about being forced to come down off their fences. Choosing a side in the immigration debate is one of those unpleasant choices in life that many people would prefer to put off as long as possible. While the dueling think tanks could hold in abeyance the conclusion about whether immigration policy was an economic good or evil, no personal reckoning would be demanded. Likewise, as long as the economic experts could keep their debate going, no one in politics would ever have to face the messy task of shutting down an immigration system that Lind admits has "turned...into an entitlement" program.

Supporters of sharply reduced immigration levels have obviously been quite pleased by the stir *Alien Nation* has created. But just as life will never again be the same for the comfortable fence-sitters, immigration reform proponents will be forced to deal with an aspect of the debate they have consciously avoided. Each time they have been accused of racism, immigration restrictionists have insisted that race is not a consideration and that they would be equally opposed to mass immigration even if all the immigrants were blond-haired, blue-eyed Nordics.

Race may not be the primary factor in their opposition to immigration, but since race is a factor in just about every aspect of American life, anyone who denies that it matters in immigration policy is kidding himself. True, most advocates for ending immigration would still be arguing for restrictions even if the immigrants were white Europeans. But the additional element of the immigrants' racial and ethnic composition at a time of racial and ethnic hyper-sensitivity in our society cannot be completely disregarded.

In his standard luncheon address that he has been giving on his book promotion tour, Brimelow jokes that as an economic journalist, he is really interested

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in discussing the economic consequences of immigration. However, he complains, what people want to talk about is race and culture, or, "more precisely, they want *me* to talk about race and culture." While that line is meant to elicit a laugh, it is usually the uncomfortable laugh of people who are forced to confront a truth they have been trying to avoid. Not to worry, Brimelow assures them with his British accent, "It is often said that we need immigrants to do the jobs Americans refuse to do. Well, here I am."

"Congress may have one last chance to reform immigration policy for intellectual reasons rather than emotional ones."

As vehemently as many immigration reform advocates profess that race and culture should not be factors in this debate, they are the issues on which the outcome will likely depend. Immigration restrictionists have often deceived themselves into believing that because ideally something shouldn't be part of the debate, it wouldn't become part of it. Race, unfortunately, is a factor in every aspect of American life, and to pretend otherwise is, at best, naive.

Even while disagreeing sharply with the book's conclusions, reviewer Nicholas Lemann, writing in *The New York Times*, observes that emotion, not intellect will probably resolve the immigration question. *Alien Nation* "makes it clear why the immigration issue is so difficult: there is often a lot more in the opposition to immigration than straightforward policy-wonk concerns about whether we are letting in the right number of people," Lemann writes. Brimelow seems determined to force everyone to confront those things that fall under the heading of "a lot more."

Congress may have one last chance to reform immigration policy for intellectual reasons rather than emotional ones. Control of the relevant congressional committees dealing with immigration is currently in the hands of fiscal conservatives, not social conservatives. There is still an opportunity for them to conclude that immigration, at its current levels and given the existing selection criteria, is a drain on the economy, a strain on the environment, a burden on social institutions and should therefore be dramatically overhauled.

If one pays close attention to the media reaction to *Alien Nation*, it is almost a plea for favorable terms of surrender by the policy wonks to whom Lemann refers (and of whom he is one). They appear to be acknowledging, as Nathan Glazer does in a "Week in Review" article in *The New York Times*, that "Undoubtedly, our immigration laws will be undergoing serious revisions again." The only question is in what context those revisions will take place. They can occur because the intellectual elite are finally persuaded that the current policies do not make economic or environmental sense, or because the general public rises up in revolt over policies that they perceive are irreparably altering the racial, ethnic and cultural balance of their country.

The choice should be rather easy. ■

[Editor's Note: *Alien Nation: Common Sense About Immigration and the American Future* by Peter Brimelow is published by Random House, 1995, 291 pages, $23.00 hardcover. Copies are available from THE SOCIAL CONTRACT PRESS, 1-800-352-4843.]

Absentee Dependents

Both California and the federal government allow taxpayers to claim dependents who live in Mexico. In 1990, Imperial County (California), just east of San Diego, had a population of 109,144 — 66 percent of whom were Hispanic. In 1990, for Imperial County, there were 50,470 tax filers, 28,217 joint filers, and 74,301 dependents claimed. That comes to 152,988 people enumerated on tax forms — 43,844 more than lived in the county. Sixty-two percent of the dependents claimed were on tax returns with less than $16,000 adjusted gross income.

Source: 1990 U.S. Census and the
California Tax Board Annual Report

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Cord Meyer is a specialist in foreign affairs.

A Transformation for Texas?

By Cord Meyer

Two population experts at the Center for Immigration Studies in D.C., Leon F. Bouvier and John L. Martin, have just published a fascinating study on the consequences for Texas of the growth of its immigrant population. It demonstrates the pace and depth of change in the ethnic distribution of its population, and shows how massive immigration is transforming the future that Texans can look forward to.

In effect, a huge foreign migration, largely from Latin America and Asia, has brought about deep changes in the ethnic composition of the Lone Star State. For example, the Hispanic population has more than doubled to 4.3 million in 1990, and the Hispanic share of the population has increased from 18.4 percent in 1970 to 25.5 percent in 1990 — and is even higher today. Similarly, from a minority of 50,000 in 1970, the Asian immigrant population grew to 379,000 in 1990, distributed among 69,634 Vietnamese, 63,232 Chinese, 55,795 Indians and 31,775 Koreans.

Although there has been some increase in the native black population of the United States, their share of the total has fallen from 12.5 percent in 1970 to 11.6 percent in 1990 because of the greater increase in the number of other minorities. As a consequence of the continued high level of immigration, the white, non-Hispanic majority has been reduced from 68.7 percent in 1970 to 65.7 percent in 1980, to 60.6 percent in 1990 — and to below 60 percent today.

Among Texas cities, El Paso has become about 70 percent Hispanic, and Houston, with only 37,501 foreign-born residents in 1970, came in 1990 to have a 58 percent foreign-born population, of which 132,596 were Mexican. By 1990, the white share of Houston's population was down to 40.3 percent. One result was that by 1990, fewer than 70 percent of the Houston population aged 5 and over spoke English at home. One-quarter spoke Spanish, and 125,000 citizens of Houston admitted that they either did not speak English at all or spoke it "not very well."

As the two population experts point out, "The demographic dice may well be already cast," and unless effective efforts to control immigration and to reduce birth rates are undertaken soon, "Texas is destined to grow more rapidly into the foreseeable future." Based on current momentum, more than 20 million Texans are foreseen for the turn of the century, and 30 million is "not an unreasonable estimate" for how many people will live in Texas in 2020.

While the white population of Texas will increase from 10.3 million in 1990 to 12.7 million in 2020, the Hispanic population will increase from 4.3 million to more than 10 million — and the Asian population will increase to more than 1.2 million.

This enormous growth of a diverse Texas population from 11 million to possibly 27 million in a period of 50 years poses a formidable challenge to even the most self-confident Texas politician. Mr. Bouvier and Mr. Martin point out that by 2020, nearly 5.6 million children will be in the public elementary and secondary schools of Texas, compared to 3.5 million today. It is estimated that Texas will have to build two schools every week for the next 25 years just to keep up with rising enrollments.

"It is estimated that Texas will have to build two schools every week for the next 25 years just to keep up with enrollments."

In 1982, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Plyler v Doe* that Texas schools must educate all children between the ages of 5 and 17 living within a school district, regardless of immigration status. With blacks and Hispanics scoring behind whites in mathematical and reading skills, much work and resources will be required if parity among ethnic groups is to be attained. Moreover, additional expensive bilingual educational programs will be required. As Messrs. Martin and Bouvier point out, the competitiveness of

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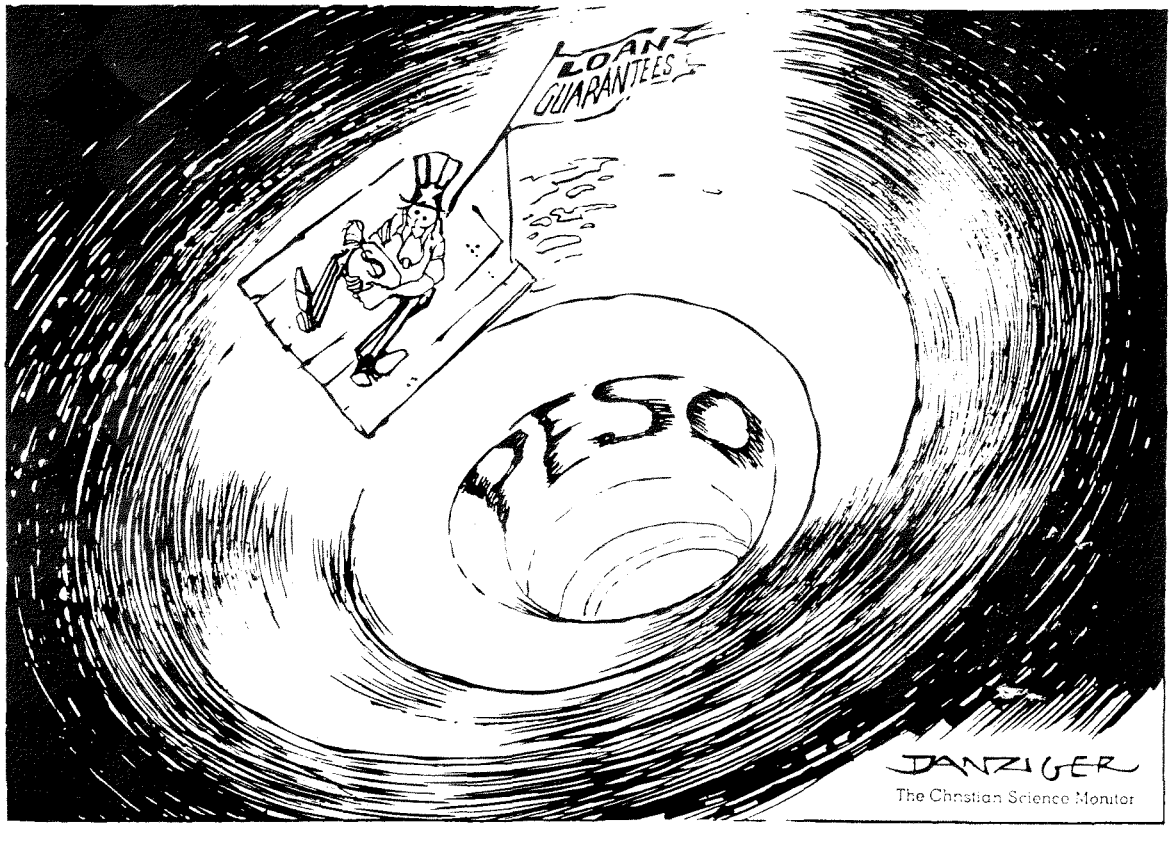
the Texas work force of the 21st century will be determined by the language training provided by its schools.

As a result of immigration and population growth, the number of registered vehicles in Texas will approach 23 million in 2020, compared to 14.5 million in 1990. This will require an additional 100,000 lane-miles of Texas state highways to provide for an additional 8.5 million vehicles.

Then there is the fiscal impact of immigration. Because elderly recent immigrants have never worked in the United States to qualify for Social Security benefits, they become heavy beneficiaries of the Supplemental Security Income (SSI) program, and ingenious scams have been devised to exploit this program. Then there is also the net drain on the state's budget of programs to control illegal immigration and assist refugees.

There are strict limits on what Texas can do to protect itself against rising immigration pressure. It is dependent on the Clinton administration and Congress for the measures necessary to expand the Border Patrol and reduce the rate of legal immigration. It must wait for the president to strengthen the Immigration and Naturalization Service and to bring effective influence to bear on Mexico to control its porous border. Until these necessary measures are taken, Texas will live under the threat of an expanding world population. ■



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James Robb has covered religion as a journalist for more than 15 years. He also produces videos from his base in Frederick, Maryland.

How Many Immigrants Does Vatican City Take? Actually, None.

By James S. Robb

Bring up the subject of Vatican City, the Roman Catholic Church's diminutive, privately-owned enclave in the heart of Rome, and it's like playing a game of charades. Animal or Mineral? Independent city-state or diplomatic abstraction functioning only as a secular means to a religious end? Or is it both?

The church's headquarters operates as a legitimate state in many ways. It has its own miniature army, the Swiss Guards (regularly inspected for rogue nuclear warheads, thanks to the Holy See being a signatory to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty[1]). It also boasts a semi-official bank (the Vatican Bank, recently rocked with scandal), a prestigious newspaper, *L'Osservatore Romano*, and its own small citizenry.

So surely it also has immigration and refugee policies? How many immigrants are allowed to enter each year? How many refugees are given shelter?

What the church does about accepting outsiders into its own "nation" has at least symbolic importance, because the Catholic hierarchy has been anything but shy in sharing its opinion that other nations should maintain policies of virtually open immigration.

According to John Swenson, executive director of Migration and Refugee Services, U.S. Catholic Conference, the church recognizes the rights of both immigrants and nations, but views the latter with a somewhat suspicious eye.

"The very idea of immigration has a very powerful meaning for Catholics and Christians in general," Swenson explained. "It's the notion that humanity is, in its essence, migratory, in that the earth isn't its final destination, that we're passing through.

"The assertion that *there is and should be an absolute right to immigrate*, including a right to immigrate to improve your economic condition" has been a consistent Catholic teaching for many years, stated Swenson.[2]

"On the other hand," Swenson noted, "since Pope John XXIII [the church has also taught that] the primary duty of the state is to provide for the common good. One way of doing that is to protect its borders." He acknowledged that too many immigrants "concentrated in too limited an area, can cause real economic hardships." Thus, Swenson explained, Catholic teachings support two distinct views in tension. He says a working group of bishops is now trying to hammer out practical guidelines for the state.[3]

Some bishops seem already to have resolved the difficulty in favor of unrestricted migration. As Archbishop Roger Mahony of Los Angeles put it:

> *If the question is between the right of a nation to control its borders and the right of a person to emigrate in order to seek safe haven from hunger or violence (or both), we believe that the first right must give way to the second.*[4]

Moreover, once immigrants arrive — legally or illegally — the Catholic church swings strongly toward immigrant rights. "I would say that while we don't dispute that [the immigrant] may be here illegally," Swenson said, "once here he shouldn't be persecuted, though he may be prosecuted." That is, illegal immigrants must be provided work, housing, education, etc., though the government does have the right to deport him if he is caught.

David Simcox, former director of the Center for Immigration Studies, suggests it may be difficult for the Catholic Church to come up with a fully coherent immigration policy. "They are capable of doing what any lobbying group does," he said, "tacking with the political winds."[5]

Swenson believes part of the tension between the rights of governments and those of immigrants stems from the church's general wariness of nation-state governance. The church is not necessarily committed to the nation-state system for the long term, he said. National governments are means and not ends.

Looked at in this light, perhaps it is ironic that the

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church operates its very own city-state, Vatican City, a domain whose borders are internationally recognized as inviolate and whose right to make its own laws is unchallenged. All this for a principality covering not quite 109 acres. At one time, however, the church's civil power was much more extensive.

To really get a grasp on what Vatican City — as a state — is all about, you have to go back to the year 312 A.D. when the Roman Emperor Constantine converted to the new Christian faith. Overnight Rome went from the great persecutor of Christian faith to the greatest center of world Christianity. To celebrate his new faith, Constantine built a magnificent new church over the traditional burial site of the Apostle Peter. That basilica was replaced during the High Renaissance by an enormous new St. Peter's Cathedral designed in part by Michelangelo. Around the cathedral lay the cluster of buildings and open plazas which make up the Vatican — the Roman Catholic Church's international headquarters.

"...there is and should be an absolute right to immigrate... illegal immigrants must be provided work, housing, education..."

From the Vatican, the various bishops of Rome (later called popes) presided over their far-flung flocks for a millennium and more. Complications arose, however, starting with Constantine himself. Not long after his conversion, the emperor decided to build and reside in a second capital city, Byzantium, far to the east (present-day Istanbul). He left the civil rule of Rome — not just the Vatican area, but the entire city — to the pope. (The concept of separation of church and state had no meaning in the ancient world.) This arrangement continued for hundreds of years. Then, as the Roman Empire began to break apart, the popes broke with Byzantium, managing to hold onto Rome as their own kingdom.

In the year 754, the French King Pepin gave the pope additional provinces in central Italy to govern directly. These "papal states" were held, and very often fought over, for a thousand years.[6] During much of this time the church, through its popes, maintained armies, conducted wars, exchanged ambassadors, and otherwise behaved like a secular power.

The church's civil power began unraveling in the 19th century. Pope Pius IX nearly fell victim to assassins when revolutionaries violently took the city in 1848. Though the French placed him back on his throne two years later, in 1860 the newly united Kingdom of Italy annexed all the Holy See's territory except for the city of Rome. Finally, the Eternal City itself was taken in 1870, without violence. Furious, the pope sealed himself up in the Vatican, refusing ever to leave again. The Vatican was his last citadel and eventual tomb.[7]

Thus began a long and unpleasant cold war between the Italian government and the Vatican. Neither side recognized the claims of the other (the church wanted compensation for seized property, for example). Finally, in 1929, the Holy See signed a treaty with the Fascist leader Mussolini, which granted independent city-state status to Vatican City.

Today, Vatican City operates something like a miniature Monaco. Totally surrounded by Rome, the city-state is in no way self-sustaining. Yet it does have a large, unionized workforce, a highly professional diplomatic corps, and a fairly good cash flow (due to support from Catholic parishes).

What it does not have is any immigrants. Nor refugees. None. I tried to get the Holy See's official point-of-view on this question by contacting its official representative in the U.S., Archbishop Agostino Cacciavillan, the papal nuncio. His assistant insisted she could answer no questions, and all official questions must be addressed to the archbishop himself in writing. I faxed a few simple questions over in April but received no reply.

So, is Vatican City too tiny to support even a few immigrants and refugees? If you just concentrate on the state's absolute size, 108.7 acres, it seems small indeed. But a cursory statistical analysis suggests that many cities in the United States of similar or greater population density are presently doing much more.

Take New York City, for example. It is huge, with a 1995 metropolitan-area population of 14,648,000, living on 1,274 square miles. That works out to 11,482.8 persons per square mile. If you isolate New York City proper, of course, the density grows much greater. In 1990, New York had a population of 7,311,966 residing on 308.9 square miles — that's 23,671 persons per square mile.[9]

Vatican City, meanwhile, with approximately 1,000 full-time residents[10] sharing 108.7 acres, has a

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population density of just 5,900 per square mile — a fourth that of New York City.

In 1993, greater New York took in 128,434 legal immigrants, or .877 of its area population.[11] (Illegal immigrants would have swollen that number considerably.) Against that standard, Vatican City should not object to taking a similar percentage of its population, especially with its relatively lower population density. That works out to just 8.7 persons each year (not counting illegals).

Since none at all are accepted, one begins to see a bit of a credibility problem. Namely, why should the Catholic hierarchy ask the United States to do (i.e., accept huge numbers of immigrants and refugees) what its own little country will not?

Perhaps the Vatican would argue that even 8.7 persons a year would eventually overwhelm its resources. In 50 years, after all, that would amount to 435 additional citizens, plus all their offspring. Accounting for the relatively high birthrates of refugee families, 50 years might well see a doubling of Vatican City's population.

Too much of a burden? Exactly. Vatican City will never have more acreage, but neither will New York.

The church, today as embarrassed by the idea of raw civil power as it was formerly enamored of it, has tried to extricate itself from these sorts of paradoxes and ironies by a number of means. The city-state's status as nation is generally played down. Ambassadors are neither sent nor received by Vatican City, for example — that is the function of the Holy See itself. Further, the church's representation at the United Nations is in the name of the Holy See rather than Vatican City.[12]

Writer Jerrold Packard, in his book *Peter's Kingdom*, analyzes the status of Vatican City this way:

> *This minuscule enclave is more easily understood as a kind of headquarters compound for, say, a multinational organization doing worldwide business on the level of a greatly magnified IBM or a Boeing Company. Think of [Vatican City] as a legalistic formula designed to ensure that the Catholic Church — which until just over a century ago really did have its very own country — would assume parity with all other sovereign nations....*[13]

So, those wanting Vatican City to have it both ways — to be a state when helpful, and a mere administrative campus when not — want to keep the question of immigration fairly abstract.

The church's representatives counter that no private organization in the world is more involved in refugee work than is the Roman Catholic Church. The church spends millions helping to resettle new arrivals. The compassion of the church's hundreds of thousands of workers is legendary. All true — but eventually on someone else's tab, and not in their own backyard.

No one in Vatican City, or in the Vatican Curia, has to think about how to permanently feed, clothe, house, and employ people coming from other lands.

It's high time they did. The Vatican should start welcoming a generous complement of immigrants and refugees — both legal and illegal — for permanent settlement, or it should stop insisting that others do so. ■

NOTES

[1] George Bull, *Inside The Vatican* (St. Martin's Press: New York, 1982), p. 142.

[2] Emphases are added by author.

[3] Interview with John Swenson, March 31, 1995. Mr. Swenson, 50, was formerly employed by the U.S. Foreign Service. He is a layman.

[4] Roger Mahony, "Catholic Social Teaching on Immigration," *The Tidings*, April, 1987; cited in David Simcox, "The Catholic Hierarchy and Immigration: Boundless Compassion, Limited Responsibility," *The Social Contract*, Vol. IV, No. 2, Winter 1992-1993. Simcox's article is a primer in recent Roman Catholic teaching on immigration.

[5] Interview with David Simcox, April 3, 1995.

[6] Jerrold M. Packard, *Peter's Kingdom: Inside the Papal City* (Charles Scribner's Sons: New York, 1985), pp. 18-21.

[7] Bart McDowell, *Inside the Vatican* (The National Geographic Society: Washington, D.C., 1991), pp. 191-192.

[8] *Statistical Abstract of the U.S. 1994*, The Census Bureau, 1994.

[9] Table 3, "Cities With 200,000 or More Population Ranked," *County and City Data Book 1*, The Census Bureau.

[10] Packard, p. 8.

[11] "Immigrants Admitted By Selected Country Of Birth And Selected Metropolitan Statistical Area Of Intended Residence, Fiscal Year 1993," The Census Bureau.

[12] Bull, p. 144.

[13] Packard, p. 3.

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Linda H. Thom is a budget analyst for Santa Barbara County, California.
The views expressed here are solely those of the author.

Babies, Welfare and Crime

By Linda Thom

Synopsis

What connection exists between guns and babies? Immigration. Because of immigration, California's birth rate has climbed continuously since 1970. Between 1970 and 1993, births to foreign-born women accounted on average for 221,831 additional births in the state each year. Recent changes in the number of felony and misdemeanor arrests reflect the same patterns. Although birth location of criminals is not recorded, ethnic and racial data are maintained. The ethnic patterns of births and arrests are consistent with immigration patterns in California.

Babies

On March 22, 1995, a headline in the *Los Angeles Times* reported, "State Leads Nation in Rate of Teen-Age Births, Study Says." The study, released by the California Senate Office of Research indicated that in 1982, the state's teen birth rate was 52.8 births per thousand girls as compared to the national rate of 52.9 births per thousand girls (California Senate Office of Research). Other findings in the report included:

- In 1993, two-thirds of the fathers of children born to teenagers were adults.
- Despite recent, small declines in teen births overall, teen birth rates for Hispanics continue to grow. There has been a 44.8% increase in the decade between 1983 and 1993.
- In 1992, Medicaid funded over half of teen deliveries. The Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) costs for one pregnancy, birth, and first year of support is $10,000.
- Recent research indicates that two-thirds or more of pregnant and parenting teenagers have been victims of sexual abuse prior to becoming pregnant.
- Los Angeles County, alone, accounted for one-third of the teen births in 1993.

In 1993, the birth rates for females (under 20 years of age) by ethnicity and race are as follows:

Race/Ethnicity	Birth rate
Hispanic	123.2
African-American	97.9
White	36.2
Asian/Other	30.6

Why is the Hispanic birth rate so high? Why, when teen birth rates are declining, are Hispanic birth rates increasing? The press secretary for California Senate President Pro Tem Bill Lockyer (D-Hayward) stated, "We don't have any sense why it is so high among Hispanics." She said that researchers suspect that part of the reason may be because of the Hispanic population's increase in California. They may use abortions less frequently than other groups and they are closer to the poverty line than whites and Asian Americans (Ingram, *Los Angeles Times*).

"Immigration caused all of the increase in teen births and then some."

The question which jumps right out and bites is: Why is the Hispanic population increasing? Either it did not occur to anyone in the California Senate Office of Research or no one was willing to discuss the reason why there are so many Hispanic teens. This author guesses that no one wishes to discuss the issue, since the statistician who supplied the birth place data for this piece was the same person who supplied the teen birth data to the Senate Office of Research.

What did the statistician's numbers show? Immigration caused all of the increase in teen births and then some. Table 1 shows the change in annual teen births between 1970 and 1993 by place of birth of the mother.

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Table 1. California Births for Females under 20 years by country of mother's origin
Source: California Department of Health Services, birth records

Year	Total	U.S.	U.S. % total	Foreign	Foreign % total
1970	61,757	58,358	94.5%	3,399	5.5%
1975	53,601	44,701	83.4%	8,900	16.6%
1980	55,521	42,751	77%	12,770	23%
1985	51,255	37,505	73.2%	13,750	26.8%
1990	70,950	44,455	62.7%	26,495	37.3%
1993	70,091	43,848	62.6%	26,243	37.4%
Change	**8,334**	**(14,510)**		**22,844**	

Total annual teen births increased by 8,334. The number of annual births to United States-born girls declined by 14,510. The number of annual births to foreign-born girls increased by 22,844.

The foreign-born mothers are overwhelmingly Mexican but Table 2 shows that the births are also statistically significant among girls born in other countries.

Table 2. Ethnicity/Race and Birthplace of Teen Mothers, California-1993

Race/Ethnicity	Total Numbers	Mexico born	U.S. born	Other born
Total	70,091	20,014	43,848	6,229
Hispanic	42,199	19,902	19,246	3,051
White/NH	16,113	83	15,490	540
Black	7,913	3	7,767	143
Native Am	515	1	508	6
Filipino	807		342	465
Laotian	429		4	425
Vietnamese	352		15	337
Cambodian	238		3	235
Othr Asian	679		52	627
Samoan	118		69	49
Thai	87		9	78
Chinese	85		19	66
Guamian	73		37	36
Other	483	25	287	171

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Immigration supporters would suggest that the births among native-born girls is declining because the number of native-born teens is declining and the number of immigrant-teen births are increasing because the number of immigrant teens is increasing. That, of course, is true; however, the birth *rate* of immigrant teens is disproportionally high. Recall that the Senate Office of Research study showed that Hispanic teen birth rates continued to climb while birth rates for all other racial groups fell two years in a row.

The girls are not only young, but also they are poor. Medicaid funded half of the teen deliveries in 1990's, increasing from 45 percent of total population growth in the 1980's to 60 percent in the 1990's" (Governor's Summary Budget, 1994-1995, p. 17). In addition to the births, California continues to receive large numbers of immigrants and their children.

Absolutely no question exists, therefore, as to why California classrooms are overcrowded. California has the unenviable fiftieth position in a ranking among the states of average students per class. The Urban Institute, chief proponent of the "immigrants pay their way" theory, does not include the costs associated with U.S. citizen children when computing the costs of immigration (Passel). But who is responsible for the tax dollars needed to pay for these children's schooling? Their next door neighbors?

Table 3. Annual Births in California by Birthplace of Mother, 1970-93

	Total	US-born	Percent	Foreign	Percent
1970	362,652	324,375	89.4%	38,277	10.6%
1975	324,949	242,460	74.6%	82,489	25.4%
1980	402,720	286,873	71.2%	115,847	28.8%
1985	470,816	319,204	67.8%	151,612	32.2%
1990	611,666	361.388	59.1%	250,278	40.9%
1993	584,483	322,810	55.2%	261,673	44.8%
Increase	221,831	(1,565)		223,396	

1993. Statistics for all women reflect these same patterns. Table 3 shows the change in the distribution of births to United States-born and foreign born women between 1970 and 1993 (Burke).

From 1970 to 1993, the annual births for US-born women decreased by 1,565 and the annual births for foreign-born women increased by 223,396. Foreign-born women accounted for 45% of the total births in 1993 and Mexican-born women accounted for 27% of the total births. The countries of the mothers' birth are distributed much the same as the countries of origin of the teens. Moreover, the total fertility rate (TFR) of all California Hispanic women was 3.5 in 1992 which is one full child higher than the next highest TFR, that for blacks (Burke).

The overall effect of this is a skyrocketing population in California. "Natural increase (the number of births less the number of deaths) will assume the leading role in the State's population growth in the

Poverty Among Immigrant Women

California's foreign-born women are disproportionally poor. Of the 261,673 births to foreign-born women in 1993, 39 percent of the deliveries (100,989) were funded by OBRA/IRCA Medicaid, a special program for illegal and amnestied aliens. Medicaid data for refugee and naturalized citizen births are not available, as those cases are carried in the regular caseload statistics.

For example, Imperial County which is immediately east of San Diego County and north of the Mexican border showed 56 percent of births (1,583) to foreign-born women (all but 54 were born in Mexico) in 1993 but only 11.2 percent (318) of the total deliveries were funded by OBRA/IRCA

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Medicaid. However, 60 percent (1,697) of the total births (2,849) in 1993 were Medicaid funded and 81 percent (1,376) of the Medicaid funded deliveries were to Hispanic women. Clearly, many immigrant women in Imperial County have become naturalized citizens. This contrasts with Los Angeles County which had 189,706 deliveries of which 111,892 were to foreign-born women; and 50,579 of the foreign-born deliveries were funded by OBRA/IRCA Medicaid (*California Department of Health Services, Medical Care Statistics, birth records*).

In addition to Medicaid, the U.S. Department of Agriculture funds the Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants and Children (WIC). WIC is a supplemental food and nutrition program for low-income pregnant, breast feeding and postpartum women, and for infants and children up to the age of five who are at nutritional risk. The WIC caseload in California has grown from 580,000 participants in December 1991 to 612,000 in January 1993 and was anticipated to reach 950,000 clients by the end of September 1994 (*WIC: 2000*, p. 11).

The report goes on to say, "Many of these young women and children are WIC-eligible (185% of the federal poverty level, or $22,792 per year for a family of three) because the economic conditions for young California families have worsened in the last two decades.... Today, one in four children — 2.2 million — live in families whose income is below the poverty level" (*WIC: 2000*, p.15). Did the conditions worsen or did the poor people come from some place else?

The report continues, "The population dynamics in California are markedly different ... from those in other states. The number of births and the number of children in California have been increasing since the late 1970's... The state experienced an 18 percent increase in its birthrate between 1980 and 1990. This trend is impacted by three factors: 1) a small overall increase in fertility rates, 2) a higher proportion of women of childbearing age, particularly those from ethnic groups with high fertility rates, and 3) immigration..." (*WIC 2000*, p. 14).

WIC services are provided regardless of immigration status and, therefore, no statistics are available on the birthplace of mothers. Ethnic and racial data are maintained, however, and the distribution by race and ethnicity is remarkably similar to that of California's clients whose deliveries were funded by Medicaid. Table 4 shows the ethnic distribution of Medicaid and WIC clients in 1993.

The WIC caseload is climbing rapidly. The client ethnicity and racial distribution is obviously the same as the Medicaid caseload. If immigrants account for all of the increase in the annual birthrate, we can presume that they comprise the added caseload for Medicaid-funded deliveries and for the WIC program.

Table 4. Ethnic/Racial Distribution of WIC and Medicaid Clients, 1993

Ethnicity/Race	Medicaid	WIC
White	19%	13%
Hispanic	62%	64%
Black	9%	9%
Asian/Pac Isl	6%	7%
Native Amer.	.4%	.6%
Not Reported	4%	7%

Children of immigrants who are born in the United States are citizens. They are eligible for the full scope of welfare services if their parents are poor. Many poor refugee families live in California also and receive welfare benefits. Between 1980 and 1990, California accounted for 525,000 of the 1,035,000 added clients in the nation's Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program. Texas and Florida accounted for an additional 494,000. Together, these three states accounted for 98 percent of the added clients on AFDC for the entire nation in the decade of the 80's (US Census, Table 607).

And the trend continues in the 90's: "From 1990-91 through 1995-96, the [California] AFDC caseload will have grown ... 40 percent while the population of the state will have grown 9.4 percent. In federal fiscal year 1992, California had only 12 percent of the nation's population, but accounted for ... 26 percent of the national total of AFDC expenditures" (*Governor's Budget Summary, 1995-96*, p. 64).

Without a doubt, immigration is causing an increase in population and poverty in California.

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Guns

Birth place data are not available for those who are arrested for crimes. Ethnic and racial data are available, however. Biologically, young women have babies and young men commit crimes. It does not matter if they live in Lithuania or Louisiana. In California in 1993, 75 percent of all felony arrests were of men under 40 years of age and 98 percent of births were to women under 40. How are guns and babies connected? Immigrants are disproportionally young. If immigrants account for the increase in babies, do immigrants account for the increase in crime? Yes, they do.

precipitously but for arrests among Hispanics and "others." The misdemeanor arrests are consistent with the felony trends. White and black, young male misdemeanor arrests are down by 46,724. Hispanic and "other" misdemeanor arrests are up by 16,253 (California Department of Justice).

The ethnic composition of the arrests for violent crimes is especially troubling. Violent crimes are offenses against people and include: homicide, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault and kidnapping. Aggravated assault is defined as "an unlawful attack or attempted attack by one person upon another for the purpose of inflicting severe and aggravated bodily

Table 5. Felonies and Misdemeanors by Ethnicity

Felonies	**1986**	**1993**	**Change**
Total	111,040	122,690	**11,650**
White	40,577	31,960	**(8,617)**
Hispanic	34,770	54,022	**19,252**
Black	29,855	27,057	**(2,798)**
Other	5,938	9,651	**3,713**
Misdemeanors	**1986**	**1993**	**Change**
Total	194,015	163,544	**(30,471)**
White	105,104	58,864	**(46,240)**
Hispanic	56,478	70,726	**14,248**
Black	23,073	22,589	**(484)**
Other	9,360	11,365	**2,005**

Felony arrests among teen males are increasing while misdemeanor arrests are decreasing. As with teen births, the numeric overview does not tell the story; the ethnic composition does. Table 5 shows the change in arrests by race and ethnicity for males under the age of 20 in California for the period 1986 to 1993. (The category "Other" is primarily Asian/Pacific Islander but it also includes Native Americans and others.)

Felony arrests for young white and black males declined by 11,415 while felony arrests for Hispanics and "Others", most of whom are Asians, increased by 22,965. Felony arrests among teens would be dropping

injury. This type of assault usually is accompanied by the use of weapons or by means likely to produce death or great bodily harm." Table 6 shows statistics for all felony arrests and for selected violent crimes.

Some of the information that can be garnered from this data: white teen males are committing more crimes of property than violent crimes as their percentage of crimes against people is relatively low (19 percent) as compared to their total felony arrest percentage (26 percent). Hispanic, black and "other" teens are committing more violent crimes but note that black data is skewed by blacks' very high level of robbery arrests (40 percent). Assault and homicide

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arrests are disproportionally accounted for by Hispanics. Other (mostly Asians) homicide arrests are 138 as compared to whites' arrests which are 122. As there are significantly fewer Asian teens than white teens, this trend is very disturbing.

Does immigration have anything to do with this? Considering what we know about the birth place of teen mothers in California, what other explanation could there be?

Are teens the only tarnish on the Golden State? No, unfortunately, adult crime statistics are also dismal but the absolute numbers are much greater. Table 7 includes all felony arrests, for men and women, adults and juveniles.

Together, Hispanic and Other (primarily Asian) arrests increased by 74,372 or 78.8 percent of the increase in felony arrests between 1986 and 1993. On a base of 17,279, the "Other" category increased by 9,020 arrests as compared to a black arrest increase of 2,426 on a base of 136,769. Clearly, the rise in arrests among Asians is very rapid and the black arrests are still very high but not rising so rapidly.

The violent crime data for adults are similar to those for juveniles. The felony statistics are disturbing but the homicide statistics are more so. Between 1986 and 1993, the number of homicides increased by 244. White and black arrests declined by 221. Homicide arrests for Hispanics increased by 342. In 1986, homicide arrests among "Others," mostly Asians, were 158 and by 1993, they were 281; that is a 78 percent increase! In 1993, 138 of the total 281 homicide arrests were Asian males under 20 years of age.

Table 6. Ethnic/Racial Composition of Selected Felony Arrests for Males under 20 years, California 1993
Source: California Department of Justice

	Total	White	Hispanic	Black	Other
All Felonies	122,690	31,960	54,022	27,057	9,651
Percent of all	**100%**	**26%**	**44%**	**22%**	**8%**
Violent Crimes	30,137	5,647	13,666	8,613	2,211
Percent of all	**100%**	**19%**	**45%**	**29%**	**7%**
***Homicide**	1,091	122	514	317	138
Percent	**100%**	**11%**	**47%**	**29%**	**13%**
***Robbery**	11,297	1,257	4,835	4,479	726
Percent	**100%**	**11%**	**43%**	**40%**	**6%**
***Assault**	16,578	4,028	7,794	3,488	1,268
Percent	**100%**	**24%**	**47%**	**21%**	**8%**

Table 7. Racial/Ethnic Composition of Felony Arrest Changes California, 1986 to 1993

	Total	White	Hispanic	Black	Other
1986	469,982	183,022	132,912	136,769	17,279
1993	564,307	200,549	198,264	139,195	26,299
Increase	94,325	17,527	65,352	2,426	9,020
Percent of total increase	**100%**	**18.6%**	**69.3%**	**2.6%**	**9.6%**

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Table 8. Change in Misdemeanor Arrests, California 1986-93					
	Total	White	Hispanic	Black	Other
1986	1,299,222	678,145	377,814	185,403	57,860
1993	1,079,136	455,228	407,086	169,331	57,491
All Change	(220,086)	(222,857)	29,272	(16,072)	(369)
Teen Change	(30,471)	(46,240)	14,248	(484)	2,005

Table 8 shows the change in all misdemeanor arrests as compared to the change in misdemeanor arrests for males under 20 years of age.

Overall, misdemeanor arrests declined significantly but arrests for teen males did not decline nearly so sharply. The majority of the decline is caused by the large decrease in white arrests. Black arrests are also down by 9 percent overall which is very encouraging. Hispanic male youths, in contrast, accounted for almost half of the increase in misdemeanor arrests and the "Other" male youths misdemeanor arrests increased by 2,005 while arrests, overall, decreased by 369. The trends in arrests for Asian and Hispanic male teens are not good.

Does the change in the ethnic and racial composition of arrests have anything to do with immigration? What other explanation could there be? This is not to say that all Hispanics and Asians are immigrants but rather most immigrants are Hispanic and Asian. There must be a connection between the changing ethnic and racial composition of the arrests and immigration.

Conclusion

Repeatedly, "think tank" reports indicate that data are not available. Statistics *are* available. They are everywhere and they are public record. As more statistics appear and suggest that everything is not working out, immigration supporters cry "racism."

In a review of the book, *Alien Nation* by Peter Brimelow, *Newsweek* writer Tom Morganthau states, "Brimelow thinks race counts, though he never actually says other racial groups are inferior to whites. But he implies it, by rehashing tendentious research on immigrant welfare dependency ... and by making much of the irrelevant fact that immigrants now compose 25 percent of the federal prison population" (Morganthau).

Morganthau does not say the *facts* are wrong, only that Brimelow must be racist because Morganthau believes the *facts* are tendentious and irrelevant. Perhaps Morganthau believes the facts are tendentious and irrelevant because they do not support his point of view. More important, why is it racist to discuss the facts? Perhaps Morganthau wants discussion of the facts to stop.

"...in California, the U.S. citizen children of illegal immigrants are almost half of the AFDC caseload increase since 1985."

Further, so-called-experts keep repeating nonsense such as, "The most striking feature is that for all programs, welfare participation rates of undocumented immigrants were well below those of the total U.S. population." (Tienda and Liang) It would only be "striking" if the welfare participation rates of illegal aliens were *high* because illegal aliens are legally barred from receiving most welfare benefits. The benefits for which they are eligible, such as OBRA/IRCA Medicaid for delivery of babies and WIC, are used in abundance. In addition, in California, the U.S. citizen children of illegal immigrants are almost half of the AFDC caseload increase since 1985. (Department of Social Services)

Are the experts trying to convince us that illegal immigrants do not use welfare because the illegals do not want to? Are we to conclude that illegal immigrants who do not use AFDC are morally superior to their children who do? Are these immigration experts trying to mislead us into thinking illegal immigrants are not big users of welfare, or that they will not use

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it if we naturalize them?

More probably, the experts are not experts. They do not understand the programs they are studying and, therefore, leap to unwarranted conclusions which support their preconceived notions and do not explore other plausible explanations for low welfare usage by illegal aliens such as: they are not eligible.

Many Californians are tired of being called racists. They do not need dueling studies of the economic consequences of immigration. The changes in California are obvious to all who wish to see. The majority of Californians are tired of waiting for something to be done, as the 59-percent-yes-vote on Proposition 187 demonstrates. As much as anything, the passage of Proposition 187 was a measure of voters' frustrations with government. Most Californians just do not want any more poor immigrants, legal or illegal.

"Many Californians are tired of being called racists."

Maybe in the long run it will all work out, as immigrant supporters claim, but in the words of the late British economist, John Maynard Keynes, "in the long run, we will all be dead." In the meantime, California must suffer ever more crowded schools, highways, prisons, parks and welfare rolls. To pay for all the added poor people, huge cuts are being made to local programs such as libraries, parks and recreation programs. Tuition at junior colleges and public universities continue to rise as the State diverts more and more financial support away from higher education to pay for burgeoning health, welfare and school services. The native-born poor have endured repeated cuts in public assistance. Californians suffer increased crimes, teen gangs and graffiti in their communities.

Californians want to know what conceivable national interest is served by this? ■

[Previous articles by Linda Thom in THE SOCIAL CONTRACT: "Where Are All These Poor People Coming From?" in Volume V, No. 2 (Winter 1994-95) p. 108; "The Urban Institute's Estimates of Taxes Paid by Illegal Aliens," Volume V, No. 3 (Spring 1995) p. 209.]

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We thought you would like to see this press release from the Software Professionals' Political Action Committee (SoftPac) of which Larry Richards is executive director.

Middle Class Jobs on the Immigration Chopping Block

By Larry Richards

SoftPac started in January of 1994 as a group of Austin (Texas) programmers intent on changing the immigration laws that were affecting their jobs. In October of 1994, SoftPac was formalized as a political action committee registered with the Federal Elections Commission. Since then, SoftPac has grown to become a nationwide organization with members in nine states.

SoftPac is concerned about the immigration laws that are affecting software professionals and engineers. Its main focus has been eliminating or reforming temporary work visas, since these have the most potential for abuse. As an example, SoftPac sent an application to the Department of Labor asking for permission to hire 20 foreign programmers on H-1B visas at a rate of $5 an hour and received the approved application back in just six days! When you consider the fact that foreigners working here on temporary visas are not free to seek work on the open market because "they are basically indentured to the company(ies) sponsoring their employment tenure," (as stated in a General Dynamics memo SoftPac has obtained), you can see how companies can exploit them in order to undercut U.S. workers. This is no idle threat; in November of 1994, American International Group in New Jersey (an insurance company) laid off its entire MIS department — 250 workers — and replaced them with foreign programmers brought here from India on H-1B visas. AIG did this because it is able to pay them a third less than it pays Americans. (And, under the current laws, this is perfectly legal.)

Beyond the immediate threat of these temporary work visas we are also concerned about the long term implications of allowing companies to bring foreign nationals here, train them, and then send them back home, taking the work they did here with them. This is already happening and is a serious threat to our profession. In hearings held by the U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform (at which the executive director of SoftPac testified), industry representatives explicitly stated that this was one reason they used temporary work visas!

We are also concerned with employment-based immigration. Congress increased this category of immigration in 1990 from 54,000 a year to 140,000 based on a mistaken assumption that there would soon be a shortage of software professionals and engineers. Instead, between 1990 and 1993, the number of engineering jobs declined by 135,000, while the number of unemployed computer scientists and engineers doubled from 52,000 to 104,000! And during the same period, over 50,000 computer scientists were admitted on temporary work visas! Considering the tight job market we face, SoftPac is seeking a reduction in the number of employment-based immigrants. We are also seeking to reform the way such immigrants are admitted so that we can be sure they are not displacing American workers. Right now, more than 98 percent of computer scientists who apply to immigrate are certified by the Department of Labor as filling jobs for which no American can be found! This is a rubber stamp that protects no one and costs the U.S. taxpayers $30 million a year in administrative costs alone.

We are not generally concerned with other categories of immigration. However, we would support using any decrease in employment-based immigration to add to family-based immigration. Currently an immigrant may have to wait up to three years before he can bring his wife and children to this country (or her husband, as the case may be). Redirecting some of the numbers available for employment-based immigration to this purpose would go a long way toward reducing this backlog and would benefit many of our members, who are themselves immigrants.

Our efforts to change these laws have involved contacting the media, lobbying members of Congress and the administration, and writing op-ed pieces and letters to the editor in various magazines and

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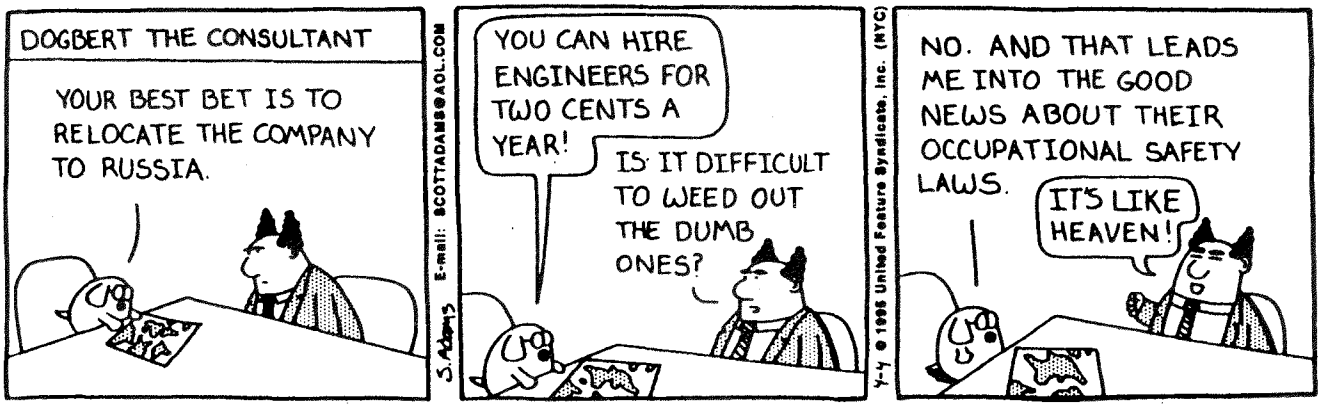
newspapers. For instance, SoftPac has appeared in stories in *The Wall Street Journal, EE Times, The Dallas Morning News, The Record* (Morris County, New Jersey), *The Houston Chronicle*, *The Austin American Statesman* and *The San Antonio Express*. Our members have had op-ed pieces published in *U.S. News and World Report*, the *Los Angeles Times, San Francisco Chronicle* and *The Austin American Statesman*. We have also worked with reporters from CBS's *48 Hours*, the *Kansas City Star*, and the *Daily Record* (New Jersey).

Our lobbying efforts have involved meeting with members of Congress, the administration and other influential parties. For instance, SoftPac has testified before the U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform. We have pushed for — and been successful in our efforts to have — Congressional hearings scheduled to look into this matter in both the Science and Technology committee and the Immigration and Claims subcommittee. Our "$5 an hour application" has drawn the attention of Secretary of Labor Robert Reich. Our report on employment trends for engineers has been circulated at the National Science Foundation, the Department of Labor, the INS, several Washington "think tanks" and in the U.S. Congress.

We also conduct investigations of potential abuses of temporary work visas and file complaints with the Department of Labor when we find them. Currently, a "body shop" that has placed H-1B programmers at IBM is under investigation as a result of a complaint filed by SoftPac. We are also prepared to enter into class action lawsuits that involve this issue. ■

[Mr. Richards can be reached at Software Professionals' Political Action Committee, 311 Ranch Road 620 South, Suite 209, Austin, TX 78734. Phone (512) 263-2705. Email: cfvr@io.com.]

DILBERT by Scott Adams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We asked Don Barnett to comment on this article by Ashley Dunn from The New York Times *relating to the use of the Supplemental Security Income program by elderly immigrants. The article is from the April 16, 1995 issue of and is reprinted by permission. Don Barnett lived and worked in the former Soviet Union for nearly two years and has written extensively about immigration issues.*

Retiring to the U.S.

By Ashley Dunn

NEW YORK, April 15 — It was in the chaotic din of a Chinatown garment factory that 70-year-old Ho Yin-peng discovered a better way to survive than cutting loose threads from dresses at 5 cents apiece.

Her co-workers told her that even though she lived with her son, she could qualify for the Federal welfare program known as Supplemental Security Income (SSI) if she was over 65 and had been in this country for more than three years.

Soon after she passed the third anniversary of her residence in the United States in 1991, she had applied and soon began receiving the $280 a month, far more than she made in the factory at $40 a week. She has not worked since.

"It's not enough for living expenses, but it's more than when I was working," said Mrs. Ho, who now shares a small apartment with a friend in Chinatown. "Everyone knows about this."

Created in the early 1970s to bolster the incomes of retirees who did not receive enough in Social Security, the Supplemental Security Income program is increasingly being sought out by elderly immigrants new to this country.

Unlike regular Social Security, which is a contributory insurance plan based in part on low long people work and how much they make before retirement, SSI is a welfare program for which any citizens, or immigrants who have lived in this country five years (it was previously three years), and who meet certain requirements of age, income or disability, are eligible.

The number of elderly immigrants enrolled in the program has increased fivefold over the last 12 years. Now, more than a quarter of immigrants over 65 — in some immigrant populations, almost half — receive SSI at an annual cost of $2 billion.

By comparison, less than 10 percent of elderly United States citizens are in the program.

SSI has, in fact, become something akin to a retirement system for elderly immigrants, who in many cases come from countries that have meager or nonexistent retirement systems. Most come to join their children or other relatives who moved here first, and the SSI system, which has become widely known among immigrants in the United States and abroad, is the one welfare program that immigrants use more heavily than do native-born Americans. Illegal immigrants are ineligible.

"The American dream is no longer to start at the bottom and work your way up," said Daniel Stein, executive director of the Federation for American Immigration Reform. "It's to transfer your assets to your children and get on SSI as fast as you can."

But advocates for immigrants counter that the program is necessary to protect one of the most vulnerable groups in American society, elderly immigrants who come to join their children and later find that their families will not or cannot support them.

"I was hoping my children would take care of me when I got old," Mrs. Ho said. "But they all have their own families. It's the American style."

Under the Republican-backed welfare overhaul under consideration in Washington, Mrs. Ho and thousands of other immigrants between ages 65 and 75 would lose their eligibility for SSI. But those over 75, who are about half the immigrants collecting SSI, would remain eligible — an exemption, the Republicans say, that is based on compassion for the elderly poor.

The growing population of elderly immigrants collecting SSI is partly explained by the surge in immigration over the past decade. But while immigration has doubled, the number of elderly immigrants enrolled in the program has increased fivefold to 440,000 today from 91,900 in 1982.

Norman S. Matloff, a professor of computer

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science at the University of California at Davis who did an analysis of census data concerning immigrants receiving SSI benefits, said a reason may be simply that the benefits are available and easy to receive.

"Everybody knows that this is free money," Mr. Matloff said. "The knowledge about this overseas has just mushroomed."

An analysis of 1990 census information conducted for *The New York Times* by Andrew Beveridge, a sociologist at Queens College, shows that about 20 percent of the immigrants receiving the supplemental benefits actually live in households with incomes above $50,000 a year. The national median income for households of five people, the average size for immigrants, is $37,000.

"The rules do not take into account the wealth of the children."

The Republican welfare changes, which have passed the House but have not yet been taken up in the Senate, would exclude only about a third of those elderly immigrants in households making more than $50,000 a year, Mr. Beveridge's study found.

The SSI program eligibility requirements are for incomes of less than about $450 a month, depending on the state, and liquid assets of less than $2,000, but the rules do not take into account the wealth of the applicant's children.

"Someone could be living with Donald Trump and if they don't have a nickel to their name, they're going to qualify," said Thomas Margenau, a spokesman for the Social Security Administration.

Most immigrants are sponsored by family members to come to this country. In theory, their sponsors are financially responsible for them until they become citizens. Their sponsors are required by the government to sign an affidavit, promising that the immigrants will not become public charges.

But the affidavits have been ruled legally unenforceable and most immigrants can apply for welfare after three or five years regardless of how much their sponsors make.

Until 1994, elderly immigrants were eligible for SSI after three years in this country, and government statistics show that a quarter of them applied within months of passing the three-year mark. But the growth in the number of applications pushed the Social Security Administration to change the residency requirement last year to five years.

Mexicans make up the biggest group of immigrants receiving Supplemental Security Income. But compared with the size of the Mexican immigrant population in the United States, their usage rate is lower than that of many nationalities.

Laotians are the most likely to be collecting SSI, with nearly two-thirds of those over 65 enrolled in the program. Among non-refugee groups, Koreans have the highest usage rate, with slightly less than half of those over 65 enrolled, according to the analysis of 1990 census data by Mr. Beveridge.

Mrs. Ho, an ethnic Chinese from the Malaysian city of Melaka, came to the United States to settle in 1988 when she was 67, in part to help take care of her daughter's young children.

But as her grandchildren grew older, she said she became more of a burden to her own children.

With her SSI benefits, she was able to move out on her own. Now she pays $100 a month for a small room off Hester Street with just enough space for a bed and plastic lawn chair, her only furniture. She eats lunch at a nearby senior citizens' center for 50 cents a meal and cooks a simple dinner each night.

Mr. Matloff, whose study included interviews with ethnic Chinese in California, said he believed that the ease of receiving SSI has helped destroy old traditions of caring for the aged.

"It's become an easy alternative to working out family difficulties," he said.

Maria Theresa R., a 70-year-old immigrant from Ecuador who refused to be identified by her full name because she was embarrassed by her plight, said she was originally sent by her children to America because they did not have the means to care for her in their homeland any longer.

For a year and a half she lived with a son in the Bronx, but eventually left after family disputes.

She survives now on $544 in SSI benefits each month and 50-cent meals at a nearby senior citizens' center in the East Tremont section of the Bronx.

She cannot go back to Ecuador, nor has she anyone in the United States to care for her. "This is my home," she said as she picked at her plate of rice and chicken in the center's dining hall. "There is really nothing else for me now."

* * *

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Don Barnett comments:

The *Times* article "For Elderly Immigrants, a Retirement Plan in U.S.", contains some arresting statistics, but fails to tell the entire story. It is an example of how the mainstream media often come very late to a story that has been around for a while, such as the S & L fiasco.

SSI provides cash assistance to disabled and elderly poor. Today, 28.2 percent of the elderly SSI caseload is made up of individuals who are not U.S. citizens. It didn't happen overnight. Between 1983 and 1993 the number of elderly U.S. citizens receiving SSI actually decreased by 25 percent while the number of elderly non-citizen immigrant recipients quadrupled.

There is also substantial use of disability SSI among immigrants. According to Senator Rick Santorum (R, Pa), about 40 percent of immigrant SSI recipients are eligible due to a disability.

Though not publicized, it is known that a small minority of SSI recipients have returned to their home countries or spend most of their time at home where their dollars go much further. Relatives in America cash their checks for them.

It is affirmed in the *Times* article that SSI usage by elderly immigrants carries an annual price tag of 2 billion dollars. True enough, but a reader may be left with the impression that a meager monthly payment ($280 for the subject of the article) is the only cost for usage of SSI among immigrants.

According to a recent GAO report the bill for non-citizen SSI usage (both disability and elderly benefits) was 3.3 billion in 1993. That cost grows by about 14 percent each year. Moreover the Medicaid entitlement which accompanies SSI is nearly twice as costly on a per-recipient basis. Most elderly SSI recipients receive food stamps and may also be receiving housing assistance.

The *Times*, in a recent editorial and now with this article, allows as how trends in usage of welfare by elderly immigrants may not be sustainable. But, says the newspaper of record, SSI "is the one welfare program that immigrants use more heavily than do native-born." The GAO study finds that 10.8 percent of adult immigrants are receiving AFDC, about 50 percent more than the national average. Non-citizen immigrants, at about 6 percent of the U.S. population, make up about 8 percent of the adult AFDC caseload and 11.5 percent of the SSI caseload. The study also finds that 29 percent of immigrant households report income below the poverty line compared with 14 percent of citizen households. It is likely that immigrants use all welfare programs at a substantially higher rate than do citizens.

Virtually all of the mainstream media have descended upon welfare reform with stories from the same boilerplate about how Mrs. X ("legal and taxpaying") will be thrown out into the street by the reforms. Though much more sober and realistic than other stories on this issue, the *Times* piece also fails to make the point that the subject of the article, Mrs. Ho, need merely naturalize to continue receiving all her benefits without interruption.

"According to a recent GAO report the bill for non-citizen SSI usage (both disability and elderly benefits) was 3.3 billion in 1993. That cost grows by 14 percent each year."

Like most of the roughly 15 million non-citizen permanent residents, Mrs. Ho is time-eligible for citizenship. Welfare dependence is not a bar to citizenship.

The Congressional Budget Office has factored increased naturalization rates into its projected savings of 21.7 billion over 5 years if immigrants are barred from welfare benefits. But it concedes that higher than expected naturalization rates among welfare beneficiaries will diminish the amount saved. Furthermore, it predicts that some of the liability for supporting immigrants will be shifted to state and local programs if federal programs are declared off-limits to immigrants. That could come back to the federal taxpayer in the form of a bill due for an "unfunded mandate" placed on states by the federal government. Congress would be well advised to refrain from spending the savings or giving it back in the form of tax relief until it is known what savings result from the reforms.

Perhaps the only thing more foolhardy than extending all our social guarantees to new arrivals is allowing those that are totally dependent upon them to become citizens.

Will it take 10 years before this is allowed to be a topic suitable for public discussion? ■

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John Tanton is editor and publisher of THE SOCIAL CONTRACT and a board member of English Language Advocates.

Lone Citizen Defends Official English Movement

By John Tanton

In November 1988, Proposition 106, English as Arizona's official language, became Article XXVIII of the Arizona Constitution via the citizen initiative process. Within hours of its passage, Maria - Kelly F. Yniguez, a state employee, filed suit in Federal Court alleging violation of her First Amendment right of free speech. Federal District Judge P. G. Rosenblatt ruled Article XXVIII was an unconstitutional violation of the First Amendment. Governor Rose Mofford declined to appeal; the Attorney General had already been excused, leaving no one to defend the measure. The will of the people be damned.

As chairman of Arizonans for Official English (AOE), the committee that carried the initiative to the ballot, Robert Park asked Judge Rosenblatt to allow him to intervene post-judgment for the purpose of making an appeal. The motion was denied. Park appealed Rosenblatt's decision to the U.S. Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. Judge Stephen Reinhardt, writing for the court, granted Park's motion.

"How common is it for a private citizen to be left as the sole defendant of a state's constitution? The answer, according to Park's attorney: 'It almost never happens...'"

In granting Park standing, Judge Reinhardt cited four criteria: (1) timeliness (of the lower courts denial); (2) Park's interest in the subject matter of the litigation; (3) absent intervention the party's interest may be practically impaired; (4) other parties inadequately represent the intervenor. As described above, (AOE and Park) were found to have standing on all accounts. They were not, as Yniguez asserted, "mere bystanders."

How common is it for a private citizen to be left as the sole defendant of a state's constitution? The answer, according to Park's attorney: "It almost never happens — it is very, very rare. You must walk in the shoes of the legislature to qualify...." Judge Reinhardt wrote, "AOE, ... as principal sponsor of the initiative, stands in an analogous position to a state legislature." Ordinarily the state would defend its own Constitution. For the reasons mentioned above, Park is the only one with legal standing.

The Yniguez case was accepted for review by the U.S. Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. On December 7, 1994, Judge Reinhardt, writing for a three-judge panel, struck down Article XXVIII as unconstitutional in its entirety. Rehearing *en banc* has been granted (also a very rare occurrence). Oral arguments are set for July 21, 1995 in San Francisco before an eleven-judge panel.

The importance of this legal case is simple: short of a constitutional amendment, no amount of lobbying, letter writing, political influence or legislative action can make English our official language; success comes only in the courts, which have the final say. ■

[Mr. Park is chairman of **English Language Advocates** (ELA), the only group lending financial support to the case. For more information, contact Mr. Park directly at 4870 Butterfly Drive, Yavapai Hills, Prescott, AZ 86301, (502) 778-5811.]

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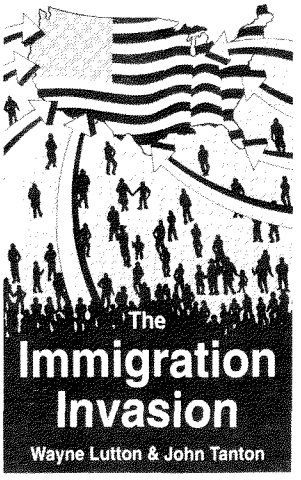
In addition to publishing *The Social Contract* journal four times a year, the Social Contract Press offers several titles in the related fields of immigration, population growth and the environment.



The Immigration Invasion by Wayne Lutton and John Tanton "presages our gathering immigration storm as has no other single publication" says nationally syndicated columnist Georgie Anne Geyer. The book discloses the problems created by U.S. immigration policies, discusses how we arrived at this predicament, and outlines specific and realistic solutions. 190 pages. $4.95 paperback.

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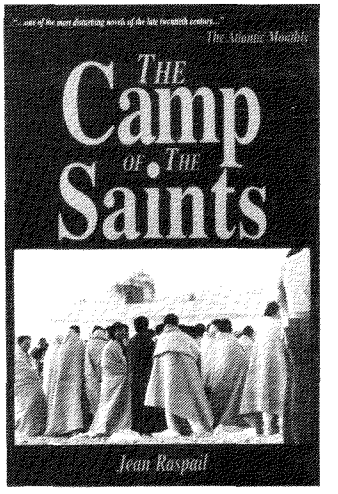

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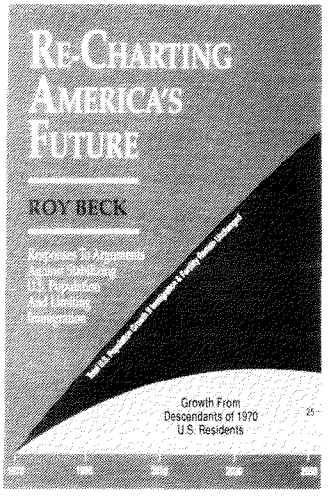

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Michael W. Masters is the author of "The Morality of Survival," an essay to be published in the July and August issues of American Renaissance. *Based in part on Garrett Hardin's 1978 book,* The Limits of Altruism, *it explores the moral flaws of universalism and their potential implications for the future.*

"Who Speaks For Posterity?"

A Book Review by Michael W. Masters

In his 1982 essay, "Discriminating Altruisms," Garrett Hardin describes an intellectual as "a person skilled in words but deficient in the imagination required to see the reality behind verbal counters." This exposes the great truth underlying the West's immigration dilemma — our immigration policies are largely based on the way we want the world to be rather than the way it really is. Western governments persist in basing policy on sentiment and universalism rather than on objective assessment of historically predominant factors such as social harmony, cultural compatibility and carrying capacity. The chimera of universalism remains a glittering mirage, forever unobtainable, for reasons that Garrett Hardin first wrote about in his classic 1968 essay, "The Tragedy of the Commons," one of many essays collected in his new book, *The Immigration Dilemma: Avoiding The Tragedy of the Commons.*

THE IMMIGRATION DILEMMA: AVOIDING THE TRAGEDY OF THE COMMONS
by Garrett Hardin
Washington D.C.: Federation for American Immigration Reform, 1995
140 pages, $5.00

Our policies are rapidly destroying stabilizing social conditions that have endured for many generations. In times past, while great, unsettled regions of the world remained to be developed, the consequences of a flawed policy were likely to be local, and perhaps transitory as well. So long as sources of renewal existed, the damage caused by ecological and social misjudgments might heal in the course of time. Now, that isolation is gone forever. Today as never before, there are potentially enormous consequences for policy mistakes that fail to take the realities of human nature into account, mistakes with consequences that could haunt future generations forever.

A number of remarkably far-reaching themes run through Hardin's works, themes that have profound implications for the consequences of the profligate population and immigration policies practiced by the West. These themes form a seamless web. First, all ecosystems — from the common grazing lands shared by our herdsman ancestors to the homelands of nation states as they have existed for the past several centuries to the "great globe itself" — are finite. The numbers of inhabitants that each ecosystem can support is determined by its carrying capacity. Exceeding this carrying capacity inevitably results in an ecological readjustment that may include not only severe, and possibly permanent, damage to the ecosystem but also a population crash as well.

Second, it is human nature for people to act out of self-interest. Self-interest leads to exploitation of resources that are held in common by all. Because of the nature of a commons, the full benefit of exploitation is gained by the exploiter but the cost is spread among all who share the commons. Thus there is a built-in incentive for each individual or cohesive group to maximize its gain from the commons. Hardin calls this the tragedy of the commons. It is a tragedy because, unless stopped, exploitation is likely to proceed until the carrying capacity of the commons is exceeded and the shared ecosystem is irreparably damaged.

Third, a tension exists in nature between self-interest and altruism. In fact, there is a hierarchy of altruisms, ranging from the kinship altruism of family members to blind, universal altruism. Altruism toward one's tribe or one's nation (extended tribe) falls somewhere between. Altruism has evolutionary benefits at a less-than-universal scale. It helps insure the survival of the genes of those who practice it,

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though not necessarily survival of the individuals themselves.

The Perils of Universalism

Much of the rhetoric favoring immigration is based on the ideology of universalism. While this ideology is appealing to intellectuals, it is widely unpopular with ordinary people. Since the founding of the UN in 1945, there has been much fissioning of nations, often accompanied by violence, but there has been no fusion. Current attempts to produce regional fusion by economic linkages such as NAFTA and the European Union are being marketed, and sometimes imposed, from the top, generally by universalists who favor emergence of a world-wide government.

"Even the most modest impulse toward conservatism should cause us to question the wisdom of abandoning a principle that has worked so well for billions of years."

However, as Hardin demonstrates in "Discriminating Altruisms," universalism is an impossibility, at least among humans. Unlike simple organisms such as ants and termites, there is great natural variation among humans. Once variation is introduced, those who practice pure, unlimited altruism, unfettered by thoughts of self-preservation, will be disadvantaged in life's competition and thus eliminated over time in favor of those who limit their altruistic behavior to a smaller subset of humanity from whom they receive corresponding reciprocal benefits.

> *Universalism is altruism practiced without discrimination of kinship, acquaintanceship, shared values, or propinquity in time or space. It is perhaps shocking, but entirely accurate, to call it promiscuous altruism ... To people who accept the idea of biological evolution from amoeba to man, the vision of social evolution from egoism to universalism may seem plausible. In fact, however, the last step is impossible ... Let us see why.*
>
> *In imagination, picture a world in which social evolution has gone no further than egoism or individualism. When familialism appears on the scene, what accounts for it's persistence? It must be that the costs of the sacrifices individuals make for their relatives are more than paid for by the gains realized through family solidarity...*
>
> *The argument that accounts for the step to familialism serves equally well for each succeeding step — except for the last. Why the difference? Because the One World created by universalism has — by definition — no competitive base to support it ... [T]hose who speak for One World speak against discrimination and for promiscuity ... Unfortunately for their dreams, the promiscuity they hunger for cannot survive in competition with discrimination [emphasis in original].*

As used above, the word *discrimination* describes the act of making choices between competing alternatives, an unavoidable part of life. Universalists have succeeded in vilifying the concept of "discrimination." But if we cannot make choices concerning matters that affect our lives then, in fact, we are not free. We are well advised to ask of the vilifiers, "*cui bono?*" Who benefits from this vilification? Hardin adds

> *[W]e must not forget that for three billion years, biological evolution has been powered by discrimination. Even mere survival in the absence of evolutionary change depends on discrimination. If universalists now have their way, discrimination will be abandoned. Even the most modest impulse toward conservatism should cause us to question the wisdom of abandoning a principle that has worked so well for billions of years. It is a tragic irony that discrimination has produced a species (Homo sapiens) that now proposes to abandon the principle responsible for its rise to greatness.*

"And Then What?"

The West is not exempt from natural processes, and we ignore them at our own peril. Just as it is possible to damage natural environments beyond repair, so it is possible to harm human ecosystems as well. Too often, the harm arises from our altruistic attempts to "do good." In his 1975 essay, "Carrying Capacity as an Ethical Concept," Hardin describes the impact of Western food and medical aid on Nepal.

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"[Nepal's] winters are cold. The Nepalese need fuel, which they get from trees. Because more Nepalese are being kept alive now, the demand for timber is escalating. As trees are cut down, the soil under them is washed down the slopes into rivers that run through India and Bangladesh. Once the absorptive capacity of forest soil is gone, floods rise faster and to higher maxima. The flood of 1974 covered two-thirds of Bangladesh." Tens of thousands were killed.

"In an overpopulated world, humanity cannot long endure under a regime governed by posterity-blind ethics."

In 1974, Garrett Hardin published "Living on a Lifeboat." This essay dealt with the ethical problems that arise in a finite world occupied by an ever-growing human population. Imagine many lifeboats floating on the ocean — each finite in its "carrying capacity" and each more or less filled with humans. Then suppose that occupants of lifeboats other than our own are leaping into the water because they have reproduced to a level that can no longer be sustained within their lifeboat. The ethical dilemma we face is what to do about these potential "immigrants" in the water. Hardin considers three possibilities.

First, "[w]e may be tempted to try to live by the Christian ideal of being 'our brother's keeper,' or by the Marxian ideal of 'from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs.'" This choice will lead us to take in all comers. Since people in other boats are multiplying endlessly, our lifeboat will eventually be swamped and we will all drown. Second, we may take in only a few. But which ones? "How do we *discriminate*?" Third, we may decide to take in none at all and, in fact, be prepared to repel boarders. To those who object to this last alternative, Professor Hardin has the following advice: "*Get out and yield your place to others*" [emphasis in original].

To carry Hardin's argument a vital step further, consider carefully the fact that the lifeboats are not filled with arbitrary assemblies of strangers. The occupants are, in fact, largely family members, distantly related by virtue of the forces that created modern, ethnically-based nations. In reality, we are being asked to *throw our own children overboard* to make room for the strangers in the water. We are, in an act of self-sacrificing altruism, reducing the West to a formless commons, open to exploitation by those unwilling or unable to live within their means. If, as many believe, the human condition reflects the nature of peoples and not transitory vagaries of circumstance, then our sacrifice will not change their condition, only ours.

The tragedy of the West's moral order, based as it is on altruism, compassion and conscience, seemingly humanity's most noble instincts, is that this moral system, particularly as it influences immigration policy, has become *the* threat to the survival of the West. Our "commons" is more than just land. It is the entire social and cultural fabric of the West — the prosperity and ordered liberty created by countless generations of ancestors. Exploiting this commons confers benefits here and now to all the exploiters: sentimentalists in search of a "feel-good" buzz, free-enterprisers in search of cheap labor, universalists in search of One World, and the "huddled masses" themselves. But, what are the consequences for posterity? What about our children? Who speaks for them?

As is fitting, Garrett Hardin has the last word:

> *Before we commit ourselves to saving the life of each and every person in need, we had better ask this question: 'And then what?' That is, what about tomorrow? What about posterity? As Hans Jonas has pointed out, traditional ethics has almost entirely ignored the claims of posterity. In an overpopulated world, humanity cannot long endure under a regime governed by posterity-blind ethics. It is the essence of ecological ethics that it pays attention to posterity.* ■

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James H. Walsh, former Associate General Counsel of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, is a frequent contributor to THE SOCIAL CONTRACT.

Less Than Meets the Eye at INS

A Review of the 1994 INS Strategic Plan by James H. Walsh

Considering the widespread charges of bureaucratic incompetency at INS, this strategic plan could have been the blueprint for reform called for by INS Commissioner Doris Meissner in her introduction. It could have addressed concrete ways to correct agency inadequacies and curb the current onslaught of illegal aliens. It could have, but it doesn't. The focus instead is on a commitment to cultural diversity in the INS workforce "at all levels and occupations." This strategy simply parrots the Clinton Administration's practice of weighting biographical data over qualifications and experience.

TOWARD INS 2000:
ACCEPTING THE CHALLENGE
An INS Strategic Plan
by the Immigration and
Naturalization Service
Office of Policy and Planning
Washington, DC: INS, 1994,
paperback, 32 pages.

Toward INS 2000 is a slick publication that brings to mind the maxim: to change and to improve are two different things. For example, in the midst of preparing the Strategic Plan, INS political appointees promised to address the incompetency charge with a reorganization of managers. The result, however, has been a reshuffling of titles with no improvement in the quality of service.

Initiated in 1993, the INS Strategic Plan was ready for testing by the summer of 1994 when flotillas of Cuban and Haitian boatpeople filled the Caribbean intent on Florida shores. The White House, however, assigned crisis management to the National Security Council and the State Department, leaving the INS with its goal of immigration crisis management still unmet.

The INS Strategic Plan is a rehash of ideas that have been floated around the agency for at least a decade, such as recognizing "the importance of immigration data." In other words the INS cannot say precisely how many illegal aliens are in the United States. As a remedy the reinvented INS suggests "technology to manage detention space and track detained migrants." It is a disturbing thought that the INS would detain migrants, many of whom are in this country legally. What the authors must have meant is the tracking of detained illegal aliens, persons who are present in this country in violation of U.S. immigration law. The INS would be well-advised to maintain the distinction between migrants and illegal aliens; the two are not the same. A far more disturbing thought is that any government agency would have trouble tracking those in its custody.

To stop unlawful migration, the INS promises to breathe new life into the corpse of employer sanctions by means of "an automated verification system" — in other words, the controversial federal identification registry or national ID card. Although favored by the chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Immigration and the chair of the Congressional Commission on Immigration Reform, national ID cards are opposed by civil libertarians and immigration advocates.

"The INS Strategic Plan is a rehash of ideas that have been floated around the agency for at least a deacde."

The Strategic Plan's objective of "ensuring border integrity" has been a clarion call since 1980, but an ephemeral one. For example, the new Border Patrol agents hired by INS in 1994 have yet to reduce the numbers of illegal aliens crashing U.S. borders. At Nogales, Arizona, the 75 overworked Border Patrol agents who made 17,000 arrests of illegal aliens this past February and March admit that "many many more illegals" escaped apprehension. With the burn-out and attrition rate of experienced agents exceeding the

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hiring rate of new men and women, the INS remains in a catch-up mode.

The Strategic Plan rightly calls for employee accountability. A lack of accountability and responsibility defines the INS management. At times, regulations and field instructions change daily and chaos reigns in INS Headquarters. Even General Accounting Office (GAO) audits, critical of the agency, have had no impact on INS management or Congressional oversight inquiries. The Strategic Plan, however, hopes to achieve accountability through politically correct employee councils designed to achieve accountability through empowerment. Their effectiveness remains to be seen.

On the issue of resource management, the Plan gets an "A" for chutzpah. Financial mismanagement at INS has been documented by the GAO, the Department of Justice itself, and the news media, as recently as September 1994; yet the Administration rewarded with bonuses the very bureaucrats in charge of INS finances.

The persistent INS malaise can be traced to the lack of a clear immigration policy. Until Congress clarifies existing immigration laws and requires the INS to enforce them, glossy publications like *Toward INS 2000* will not provide an effective strategy. Without consistent presidential direction and congressional oversight, a strategic plan will not cure the deep-rooted morale, competency, and management problems at INS. Commissioner Meissner is right when she recognizes the need of a blueprint for reform. Her strategic plan, however, with its excess white space and banal generalities, is not that much-needed blueprint but an exercise in bureaucratic myopia. ■

From the Church Bureaucracies

In our Spring issue of THE SOCIAL CONTRACT we featured a discussion of the role of church bureaucracies in maintaining high levels of immigration. A recent item in *The Washington Post* (June 3, 1995, page B 7) demonstrates once again that the projected reductions in immigration are flagged by the churches as heartless opposition to helping refugees. The world ministry boards of the United Church of Christ and the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) admonish that "Congress is moving swiftly and severely to curtail its commitment to responding to the plight of some of the world's most vulnerable refugees." This in response to Senator Alan Simpson's (R-WY) bill to cut the number of *immigrants* allowed into the United States each year. Let's keep our categories straight.

Similarly, the World Service Advisory Committee of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) announced that it has earmarked $20,000 to help fight state and local anti-immigrant ballot proposals. Local church coalitions in California will be able to apply for grants of between $2,000 and $3,000 to challenge the implementation of Proposition 187.

Query: Is this what the folks in the pews support?

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Larry Witham has been a reporter at The Washington Times *since 1982, specializing in religion and in social issues. He is the author of three books on contemporary events in religion, the latest a novel,* The Negev Project *(Meridian Books, 1994).*

The Religious Lobbies

A Book Review by Larry Witham

Had President Clinton owned a copy of this new handbook on churches and politics, he might have revised the guest lists for his six or so White House sessions with clergy.

Near the end of *Prophets and Politics*, a comprehensive guide to Washington lobbying by 15 Christian denominations and ecumenical groups, author Roy Howard Beck shows table tops with 40 place settings.

If U.S. population share was the president's concern, he'd be dining mostly with Roman Catholics (58 million) and evangelicals (47 million), with fewer seats for mainline Protestants (33 million), Orthodox, Jews and others.

PROPHETS AND POLITICS:
HANDBOOK ON THE WASHINGTON OFFICES OF U.S. CHURCHES
by Roy Howard Beck
Institute on Religion and Democracy: 1994
193 pages, $8.95

This "meal" is one of countless ways Beck's handbook illustrates the interface of churches with Congress and the White House. The term "handbook" is key here, for it is more a user-friendly reference with charts, lists, street maps and subheadings, than a monograph on history and policy.

"The church office representing them in Washington is probably the last thing most [people] would think about when deciding to join a church," Beck writes. But for some 130 million Americans, the 15 offices are their Washington voices, and the book is a gateway for them to understand those distant operations. It also is a call for church members to get involved, once the system is understood.

"Perhaps the greatest value of this handbook is the immediate analysis available from seeing the 15 offices lined up together on spectrums or divided into categories based on their styles of action, size, theological underpinnings and accountability," the author says.

This is clearly the volume's unique accomplishment, requiring a lot of gumshoe reporting by Beck, a seasoned journalist in the church and secular press. The handbook is one of only three serious treatments of religious lobbies in Washington, beginning with Allen Hertzke's *Representing God in Washington* (University of Tennessee Press, 1988), and followed by the forthcoming *In Washington But Not of It* by Daniel Hofrenning (Temple University Press, 1995).

The 18 topical chapter headings (for example, "Diversity in Activism," or "Staffs") look simple enough to follow. But in reading cover to cover one can easily get lost on the road, probably because nearly every chapter looks at all 15 groups — adding up to about 250 snapshots. For a reference work like this, the modules of data are a plus. They also are necessary since there is no index in which to look up "Mennonite," "health care reform" or "United Methodist Building." Cover-to-cover readers can be assured, however, that Beck's writing is clear and light, often with a dash of wit.

The author touches on, if only briefly, nearly every religious lobby dynamic at work. These range from how a church's theology translates into a social agenda, its histories and personalities, to who picks the staff and how alliances come and go.

"The 15 church lobbying offices have little power when they are in sharp disagreement," Beck writes. "But when most of the 15 speak in unison ... it is almost impossible for an opponent to beat them."

Examples abound. Beck argues that open immigration policies "hold the moral high ground" because of church voices. These same voices have kept religious freedom a priority in Congress, and they certainly drove civil rights reform, withdrawal from Vietnam, and the abortion debate.

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Yet on most other issues, from defense spending and genetic engineering to pollution and pornography, the church impact is far less clear. As one chart reveals, these churches have taken up 97 different causes — no wonder the prophet's voice gets hoarse.

Some of the topics lend themselves well to Beck's charitable humor. He explains, for example, that Baptists came to Washington in fear of Catholic clout, and evangelicals arrived to counter mainline Protestants. Later, Baptists and Lutherans split their family voices, liberal and conservative. "Whew!" writes Beck.

"Beck: 'The church office representing them in Washington is probably the last thing most [people] would think about when deciding to join a church'"

Beck visited the 15 offices to learn their budgets, staff numbers and priorities. By such quantifying, he has been able to limn trends, both obvious and obscure. Large churches — Catholic ($2.4 million) and United Methodist ($2.6 million), for instance — outstrip others on annual budgets.

However, the massive Southern Baptist Convention has a small office of four staff members, while the tiny Society of Friends (Quakers) have a considerable operation with 17 on staff. The reasons are what fascinate. Quaker activism on peace makes Washington a priority target, while the recent rise of conservative Southern Baptist leadership makes their office a newcomer in 1989. Baptist polity, moreover, puts limits on what a Washington office can say on behalf of Baptist consciences.

Though the book's focus is the 15 church groups, Beck also points out that Washington is populated by an array of religious coalitions and issues offices, such as Witness for Peace or Concerned Women for America. These groups, he says, "have much more ideological clarity because they are formed around agreement on certain issues." An in-house church debate of the past decade has been on who controls their bureaucracies, and thus the Washington voice. The process by which activists, agendas and quotas gain influence in denominations has been likened to the patterns of change in political parties. This was a founding concern of the Institute on Religion and Democracy (IRD), publisher of the handbook. The IRD wants religion to speak to power, but with accountability to constituents — not as free ranging "prophetic" voices.

"Most church democracy," Beck writes, "is more akin to the way officials were elected in the early days of the country when the common people were felt to be too poorly informed to directly elect national leaders." National church committees, he continues, by their nature fail "to reflect the nuance and complexity that the grassroots could have provided." And for other practical reasons, retirees, singles, activists and persons of means tend to reach policy-making levels. "Substantially under-represented," he writes, "are the men and women with full-time laboring, service and professional jobs, the largest group among church members."

The author eventually moves to a more prescriptive analysis of where the lobbies are going, for good or ill. Of their priority issues, he says the prevailing category is "rights," a leaning that was set by the 1960s civil rights milieu. What is almost completely lacking, he argues, is lobbying about "responsibilities" for society and churchgoers. Amid much lobbying against institutional evil, personal battle lines such as illegitimacy and divorce are absent, despite how much they fuel the family and welfare crises.

In tone and purpose, Beck is wholly respectful of these important voices in Washington. "This book is not an exposé [but] a factual handbook, designed to help church members," he says with accuracy. The slim volume should also be on the desks of church executives, and at arm's reach for religion and political reporters in the national media. ■

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Brent Nelson has written extensively on immigration-related issues. His latest book is America Balkanized: Immigration's Challenge to Government, *published in 1994 by the American Immigration Control Foundation, Monterey, Virginia.*

The Struggle for American Nationhood

A Book Review by Brent Nelson

Only those few Americans who regularly read reviews of political opinion follow the battle of ideas which is being waged between paleoconservatives and neoconservatives. Even many readers of the reviews do not fully appreciate the practical difference between the two ideological parties of conservatism. Reading their favorite review, they are apt to conclude that it represents simply "conservatism." That the difference "makes a difference" (i.e., is a matter of practical importance, not simply a focal point for ideological wrangling) becomes most obvious when the immigration issue is raised. Oversimplifying slightly, it can be argued that neoconservatives consider only the economic impact of immigration, while paleoconservatives see that economic impact as affecting but one dimension of a larger American identity.

IMMIGRATION AND THE AMERICAN IDENTITY: SELECTIONS FROM *CHRONICLES: A MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN CULTURE*, 1985-1995
Rockford, IL: The Rockford Institute
232 pages. Paperback, $14.95.

Chronicles is the only review (with the possible exception of *Modern Age*) which is wholly dedicated to the paleoconservative cause. Paleoconservatives can find space in the pages of other reviews, but only *Chronicles* is dedicated to paleoconservatism as *Commentary*, for example, is dedicated to neoconservatism. *Immigration and the American Identity*, therefore, is more than just another anthology of articles culled from a conservative review. Rather, it is a book which may make a difference in the battle of ideas because it analyzes a highly divisive issue from a paleoconservative standpoint.

Taking the writings of twenty-three different contributors and assembling them into a coherent and comprehensive survey of the reciprocal concepts of immigration and American identity is no easy task. Thomas Fleming, editor of *Chronicles*, seems to have done this as ably as anyone could. He has arranged the selections under four basic headings: "The American Identity," which defines that identity as independent of immigration; "The Immigration Crisis," which proves the existence of such a crisis; "The Multicultural Society," which describes the devolution of American identity under the impact of immigration; and "Citizenship," which examines the political problems generated by the immigrant influx.

Fleming's "Introduction" is frank. He sharply takes issue with those for whom "America has never been a nation, but only an opportunity to pursue happiness." With one deft turn of phrase, Fleming reveals the common ground on which neoconservatives and liberals meet, regardless of their disputes about whether the free market economy or governmental intervention is to be the primary means employed in the pursuit of that happiness. Fleming's criticism becomes almost barbed when he laments that "the influx of talented refugees from the Third Reich nipped the native growth of our civilization perhaps not in the bud but in the flower," and warns that "One evil empire has already collapsed, and the days may be numbered for its opposite number in the West." Yet he warns against searching for scapegoats because "the problem is not so much the cultural wreckage inflicted by too many Third World immigrants who are, after all, only looking for a better life, but in the apparent inability of Europeans and Americans to defend their civilization."

In considering the American identity, contributors dare to argue that it is a matter of content (ethnic

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composition) as well as form (constitutional government). Clyde Wilson, professor of American history at the University of South Carolina, explains that the ideal of America "As a City Upon a Hill" has been not only secularized from its first utterance by John Winthrop, but also adulterated. Not all of humanity was to enter into that city, Wilson notes, because "The Puritans were not only proudly Anglo-Saxon, they did not even like non-Puritan Englishmen." The original image has been transformed into something opposite. Moreover, faith in democracy now seems to require, in at least one area, a suspension of the principle of majority rule: "The democratic process may decide economic or military matters, but the future composition of the American population is something, apparently, which present citizens have no right to control or even examine."

Three contributors, Grady McWhiney, Jean Bethke Elshtain, and Allan Carlson, reveal an understanding of how the American identity has been shaped by a complex interplay of ethnic and regional factors. Elshtain, professor of ethics at the University of Chicago Divinity School, writes on "Unsere Leute," a familiar essay rich in anecdotes, which progresses to the affirmation that social contract theory is inadequate. Ethnic community is truly vital. Carlson, president of the Rockford Institute, searches for "The Midwestern Identity" and spells out what Elshtain seems to be groping towards; i.e., the Midwest is defined by its essentially Germanic ethnic core (i.e., German, Dutch, Scandinavian).

While Elshtain's and Carlson's definition of the Midwest is demonstrable (on the basis of 1990 census reports) as a matter of fact, McWhiney, professor of American history at Texas Christian University, offers in his "The Celtic Heritage of the Old South" a somewhat more controversial ethnic reading of his region. McWhiney's theory that the South was and is essentially defined by its Celtic population, from early on consciously opposed to the mores and folkways of the English northern states, is more arguable. Today, according to the census reports, there is a higher percentage of English Americans in the South than in other regions. Moreover, from the founding of the republic, the English element of the north was cut off from the supposedly Celtic South by German Pennsylvania and Dutch New York.

E. Christian Kopff, professor of Greek and Latin at the University of Colorado, offers a singular contribution in his "Our Classical Roots." Kopff takes as his reference point Jefferson's defense of education in the classical languages. This, alas, seems to be irrevocably lost in a period when enrollments in classical languages are almost minuscule, while enrollments in French, German, and Russian fall, and enrollment in Spanish (newly utilitarian) soars.

"...the future composition of the American population is something, apparently, which present citizens have no right to control..."

Thomas Fleming, writing on "The Broken Promise of American Life," sees in the ethnic history of Rockford, Illinois, a test tube sample of the process of assimilation. Ethnic groups in that city have been obliterated as neighborhoods, but have not been raised to a new level of community. At fault is the homogenizing process begun during the New Deal and continued thereafter.

Peter Brimelow's "The National Question" is one of the more controversial essays in the collection. He begins forthrightly, affirming that "I believe the central issue in American politics at the end of the century is what might be described as 'The National Question' — whether America is that interlacing of ethnicity and culture we call a nation and whether the American nation-state, the political expression of that nation, is going to survive." This is the central theme of his recently published book *Alien Nation*. Here he limits himself to some necessary clarification of the concepts of state and nation, concepts about which confusion abounds in most discussions of American public policy.

Proving that there is an immigration crisis, the crux of the second section, requires citation of specific facts and figures. Here, the most successful contributions are Wayne Lutton's "The Silent Invasion" and Donald L. Huddle's "The Cost of Immigration." Lutton examines demographic realities, particularly illegal immigration, while Huddle, professor of economics at Rice University, effectively refutes the argument that the immigrant influx is a stimulant to the economy.

Thomas Fleming's "The Real American Dilemma" recognizes that "Part of the problem is a question of

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numbers," but sees the crisis as really arising from a fundamental shift in attitudes prior to the new influx: "The trouble began with treating the nation as an abstraction: the land of the free and the home of the brave was turned into the land of opportunity for what the Statue of Liberty's plaque so quaintly calls 'the wretched refuse' of the world. A real country, with its own history, its own particular set of virtues and vices, its own special institutions was reduced to cheap slogans and loyalty oaths."

"...the cultural core of the American nation is in danger of being lost."

In his "The Transnational Elite," Samuel Francis considers what he believes to be the cause of the crisis; i.e., the fact that "the internationalization of our population is consistent with the interests of the elites that welcome and encourage it." Francis has a vision of the future which is bleak, but unblinking. The crisis is the outcome of a resolution of forces which must be understood if anything is to be done about it. As of now, "Caught between the new underclass and the new elite, plain old Americans can look forward to subsidizing through their taxes not only their own cultural dispossession but also the eventual disappearance of the nation itself, to the advantage of an elite that has disengaged itself from the body of the society it manages."

Richard D. Lamm's "Caring for Our Own," a brief call to put the interests of unemployed citizens before those of aliens, seems somewhat tepid following upon Francis's trenchant analysis. It is, nonetheless, significant because Lamm, former governor of Colorado, was one of the few nationally known elected officials to recognize the immigration crisis when to do so was even more politically unfashionable than it is now.

Chilton Williamson, Jr., in his "Promises to Keep," raises an issue which is worthy of more attention than it receives in this collection. Williamson believes that "the time has arrived for plain speaking: the environmentalist argument, plus the cultural one, provide the essential overriding case against the waves of immigrants now cresting along the borders of the continental United States. Contrary to 'conservative' opinion, America is *not* 'underpopulated' (whatever that might mean)." Williamson warns conservatives that "In the modern age, big populations mean big regulation and big regulation means big government."

Richard Estrada, columnist for the *Dallas Morning News*, challenges another facile assumption when he asserts that "Hispanic-Americans have emerged as the greatest *victims* of our immigration policy since 1965, instead of its greatest beneficiaries." He finds particularly objectionable the tendency to insist that "Hispanics," considered as a single category comprising citizens and aliens both legal and illegal, have common interests. On the contrary, uncontrolled immigration is largely detrimental to the interests of Hispanic citizens.

Garrett Hardin's "The P's and Q's of Immigration: A Letter to My Granddaughter" takes on one of the most difficult issues. Although Hardin is professor emeritus of human ecology at the University of California, Santa Barbara, he dares to wander beyond the boundaries of that discipline to answer a popular religious objection to immigration control. This is the Christian assumption that everyone must be his "brother's keeper." Hardin boldly cuts the Gordian knot of ethical and theological argument by admitting that, indeed, one may be one's brother's keeper, but that "Quantities are important. Numbers matter." Cain had but one brother. The practice of world brotherhood, however, is just not feasible.

Samuel Francis leads the section on multiculturalism with his "A Curriculum of Inclusion," which despite its serious title is leavened with the Francis wit, often reminiscent of Samuel Johnson or H. L. Mencken. The battle for what the Marxist theoretician Gramsci called "cultural hegemony" is all-important, Francis believes, and will not be won if conservatives accept a mistaken strategy which relies on invoking "pluralism" and "democratic values."

Thomas Fleming, in his "A Not So Wonderful Life," agrees with Francis that the cultural core of the American nation is in danger of being lost. Fleming maintains that there is an Anglo-American tradition, not necessarily co-extensive with the population of Americans of British descent, which must not be lost if America is to remain American.

Since Geoffrey Wagner is a professor emeritus of English at the City University of New York, he writes from a position at the front of the culture war. "The Intransigent Uninvited" to whom he refers in the title

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of his essay are the millions of those who are excluded and deported by other nations of the world, but who claim some kind of right of entry to the U.S. and a further right to ignore its long-established culture once they are admitted.

In "Conspicuous Benevolence" Garrett Hardin attempts to define the altruistic zealotry, defended in the name of multiculturalism, which leads American citizens to support an immigration policy clearly detrimental to their own interests. Since their stance is an inversion of ethnocentrism, Hardin coins an appropriate word for it: "*ethnofugalism*, a romantic flight away from our own culture." This is also a flight from reality because, as Hardin demonstrates, the dominant trend in the world is toward "national fission," not world citizenship. There are limits to the practice of "conspicuous benevolence" in which "the rich send food to the poor, never having the nerve to ask the fertile poor to mitigate their reproductive extravagance." A worse horror will ensue if the rich "dismantle their national borders and invite the poor and fertile in to enjoy their greater riches." Hardin believes that "A peaceful, borderless global village is an impossibility. But *a globe of villages* can, if we keep our fences in repair, endure and enrich our lives."

"A peaceful, borderless global village is an impossibility. But a globe of villages can, if we keep our fences in repair, endure and enrich our lives." — Garrett Hardin

Claes G. Ryn, professor of politics at Catholic University, warns in his "Cultural Diversity and Unity" that massive immigration strains the limits of assimilation. In a multicultural America, "social cohesion will increasingly have to be imposed from without." This will necessitate the big government most feared by both neoconservatives and paleoconservatives.

Theodore Pappas's "The Noncitizen Advantage" briefly points to certain abuses, already evident when he wrote in 1989, which the citizens of California are attempting to end with their approval of Proposition 187.

Peter H. Schuck and Rogers M. Smith, respectively professors of law and of political science at Yale University, examine the balance between citizenship by ascription and citizenship by consent. As the title of their essay, "Consensual Citizenship," suggests, they believe that it is necessary that the U.S. move away from its current policy of ascribing citizenship to children born to illegal aliens in the U.S.

John Lukacs, professor emeritus of history, and himself an immigrant, muses in his "The Patriotic Impulse" on the difference between patriotism and nationalism. The latter, he fears, is likely to arise when the rootedness essential to the former has been lost.

Paul Gottfried, professor of humanities at Elizabethtown College, warns that "Therapeutic Democracy," to the extent that it has egalitarianism and diversity as its goals, encourages the rise of an ever-growing bureaucracy determined to make the citizenry become what democratic theory suggests that it is supposed to be.

In "Citizenship and Immigration," Governor Pete Wilson of California, writing in 1993, considers the cost to his state of illegal immigration. He emphasizes the problem discussed at greater length by Schuck and Smith.

Last, but certainly not least, Hans-Hermann Hoppe, professor of economics at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, raises a baleful question in his "Free Immigration or Forced Integration?" Is it possible that the lack of proprietary interest in the nation which characterizes elected officials means that they must be heedless of the quality of the people they admit to that nation? A monarch, who sees in his nation his property, will be very reluctant to admit to it people who will reduce the overall quality of its population. This reservation will not be as salient for a democratically elected ruler, who may be tempted to seize whatever property he can for his own enrichment and care naught for the sinking value of the nation as a whole. Hoppe concludes that "The best one may hope for, even if it goes against the 'nature' of a democracy and thus is not very likely to happen, is that the democratic rulers act as if they were the personal owners of the country, as if they had to decide whom to include and whom to exclude from their own personal property." The immigration act of 1965, however, has ruled out the discrimination which was formerly embodied in "the explicit preference for European immigrants." The immigration act of 1965 is the foreign policy equivalent of the civil rights laws

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enacted during the same period in that it dictates "the adoption of a nondiscriminatory immigration policy, meaning mandated international desegregation (forced integration)."

Hoppe's assessment of the situation is a grim one, but not to be dismissed for that reason. His essay stands with Francis's "The Transnational Elite" as the most thought-provoking among the contributions in this book. Although Hoppe and Francis employ different societal models in their analyses, — Hoppe accepting market theory and Francis elite theory — they both see the same dynamics at work in American society; i.e., a disengaged elite, allowing into the country additions to what is already a burgeoning underclass, all the while regardless of the long-term interests of the responsible middle mass of American citizens.

Hoppe's and Francis's essays are important not only because they start from divergent perspectives and come to see much the same factors at work, but also because they both imply that it is not enough to define the American identity in terms of tradition or logic. Rather, they suggest that the American identity is that for which American citizens must contend. Appropriately, therefore, Peter Brimelow's "Afterword" is a call to action.

It is a truism that conservatism is, or should be, rather more a matter of practice than of theory. When conservatism becomes no longer simply a guiding approach to day-to-day realities, but generates an ideology in its defense which is as comprehensive as the Utopian schemes of the left, that is evidence that that which is to be conserved is undergoing a serious erosion if not a destructive assault from its enemies. The publication of this book is evidence, therefore, that the state of American nationhood is far from sound. Forty years ago, the defense of American identity which it presents would have been unnecessary. It was then the unquestioned assumption of all educated Americans save a leftist minority which even then was preparing its future assault. *Immigration and the American Identity* is a call for thinking Americans to arise in the eleventh hour and struggle to preserve whatever remains of their national identity. It is a book which should be circulated beyond the readership of *Chronicles* and belongs in most academic and public libraries. ■

California Summer: 1995

A plea from the National Lawyers Guild "seeks to bring volunteer lawyers, law students and legal workers to California to work with advocates for immigrants' rights. In the wake of the xenophobia sweeping California (and much of the country) since the passage of Prop 187, the advocates and agencies in California that defend immigrants' rights have been overwhelmed with pleas for help from immigrants who are now being subjected to more and more acts of discrimination and oppression.

"California has increasingly become a focal point for the right wing's attacks on civil and human rights in this country.... Volunteers for the **California Summer: 1995** will be working to defeat this attack on affirmative action.... While the ability to speak spanish or chinese is not required* it would be very helpful.... In 1995, the National Lawyers Guild is once again presented with an historic opportunity to defend one of the most progressive and hard pressed movements for social change in this country: the movement to defend the rights of immigrants and people of color." (* Language names not capitalized in memo.)

— Letter to all guild members, March 15, 1995
National Lawyers Guild, New York, NY

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Elizabeth Brown is a graduate of Harvard University and former staff writer for The Christian Science Monitor. *She was raised on a dairy farm in Southeastern Michigan and has first-hand knowledge of things agricultural. She now lives in Chapel Hill, North Carolina.*

Who Will Feed the Third World?

A Book Review by Elizabeth A. Brown

Ten years ago, traveling by train across China, I marveled at the vastness of the farmlands. Rice paddies stretched and climbed into the horizon, a sea of green dotted only occasionally with a farmer, an ox, a clump of houses. For hours the train rolled through fields of rice, wheat, beans, and more rice. Such bounty! Surely the "iron rice bowl" the Chinese boasted about would endure, strong and bottomless, for a long time.

Not so, say Lester Brown and Hal Kane, authors of *Full House: Reassessing the Earth's Population Carrying Capacity.* There's a hole in the bowl, and it's growing larger. Food shortages in China have already begun, and by the year 2030 China will need to import some 216 million tons of grain — more than the total of world grain exports today.

With world population growing by 90 million a year — 15 million in China alone — pressures are growing on the world's limited food supply. Who will feed China? Who will feed the world?

FULL HOUSE: REASSESSING THE EARTH'S POPULATION CARRYING CAPACITY
By Lester R. Brown and Hal Kane
New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1994
(Part of the WorldWatch Environmental Alert Series)
250 pages. $8.95

"In this ambitious book the authors project food supply and demand for the world ... to 2030."

The answer, according to Brown and Kane, is to pose another question: At what level of consumption? In this ambitious book the authors project food supply and demand for the world, including the 13 most populous countries, for the next four decades, to 2030.

Shortages loom large — far more ominous than projections made previously by the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the World Bank, which anticipate abundance. The disparity comes because those earlier projections assume that grain yield per hectare will continue to rise at the same rate for the next two decades as it has since 1960. In addition, those studies fail to include the rapid loss of farmland to nonfarm uses, where in China alone it's diminishing by 1 percent each year.

Brown and Kane argue convincingly, however, that farm yields have stagnated, and that much of the world's arable farmland is in imminent danger of being overcultivated or lost to urbanization.

Grain yields per hectare have already begun to decline. From 1950 to 1984, world grain yield per hectare more than doubled, rising 2.3 percent per year; from 1984 to 1993, yields slowed to growing an average of only 1 percent per year, with outputs since 1990 actually declining.

The authors cite "fertilizer falloff" as the main reason for dwindling yields. Many governments (former U.S.S.R., India, China) have dropped fertilizer subsidies; many crops have become so highly fertilized (in the U.S., Europe, Japan, China, and the former Soviet Union), that they no longer respond to more. There are spots in the developing world that will produce more if they are fertilized *and* irrigated. "But," the authors conclude, "unless someone can design new strains of wheat, corn, and rice that are much more responsive to fertilizers than those now available, future gains in grain output from rising use are likely to be modest... If large gains in food output cannot be achieved from using more fertilizer, where will they come from?" (p.131)

They probably won't come at all, the authors say, barring some unforeseen breakthrough in agriculture. Most countries are growing at capacity already. And

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those countries that aren't — the United States, India, and Iran — will find more than enough demand from countries with shrinking harvests.

Nor can the world expect to eat more seafood, as world catches peaked in 1989 and have been decreasing every year. And aquaculture, like cattle farming, uses too much grain to justify the amount of protein produced.

To muck things up even more, earth's deteriorating natural environment will impose its own limits on food output. Lost topsoil means fewer fertile soils; polluted air stunts the growth of plants; thinning ozone reduces photosynthesis and the production of plankton; heavy irrigation leads to salting and waterlogging; global warming is likely to reduce soil moisture in key growing areas, the American midwest and the former Soviet Union.

"How is a government official going to convince a rural couple in a developing country that their family size will affect the world, and that they ought to care?"

Full House is crammed with figures and graphs, logically presented and readily explained. Still, the numbers are numbing: By 2030 the only country expected to be a net exporter of grain is the United States. The exportable amount, 82 million tons, (up from 76 million tons exported in 1990) couldn't begin to meet the needs projected for China (216 million tons), India (45 million) the former Soviet Union (25 million), Iran (32 million), Pakistan (26 million), Egypt (21 million), Nigeria (15 million), and Mexico (19 million).

How will 2.1 billion tons of grain in 2030 feed the anticipated 8.9 billion people?

Americans consume 800 kilograms of grain per year per person, compared with 400 kilograms in Italy and 200 kilograms per person in India. If all the world consumed the Indian rate of 200 kilograms, the authors say, the harvest would feed us all. "Whether or not the house is full depends on where we want to live on the food chain," they write.

Brown and Kane suggest a few steps to stave off the crisis. First and foremost, countries need to reassess population policies with an eye to "carrying capacity." They write:

> *Given the limits to the carrying capacity of each country's land and water resources, every national government now needs a carefully and adequately supported population policy, one that takes into account the country's carrying capacity at whatever consumption level citizens decide on.*

Citizens need to be educated on the benefits of having smaller families. The authors suggest that couples shouldn't ask "How many children will I need for old-age security?" but rather, "How will the number of children I have affect their — and the world's — well-being?"

"At issue is how to balance the reproductive rights of the current generation with the survival rights of the next generation," they write.

Although the authors suggest ways to decrease fertility, we must ask if these ideas would really work. How is a government official going to convince a rural couple in a developing country that their family size will affect the world, and that they ought to *care*? Addressing the social causes of high fertility — the low status of women and illiteracy — is no small thing. How are countries expected to reverse centuries of cultural discrimination against women? Why would a country that hasn't enough money to buy food decide to spend it on books?

Among other solutions, the authors propose: massive tree plantings to provide firewood and erosion control; adding a fossil-fuels tax to pay for the environmental degradation caused by burning them; giving the United Nations a mandate and funds to meet population goals.

There is much to be done. The authors have sounded the alarm. "The measure of individuals or nations is whether they respond to the great issues of their time," the authors write. "For our generation, the challenge is to reverse the deteriorating food situation, achieving a balance between people and food that is both humane and sustainable." ■

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Mark Wegierski is a Toronto-based writer and historian. He is a frequent contributor to THE SOCIAL CONTRACT.

The Final Fight for Nature and History

A Book Review by Mark Wegierski

In the extremely select group of billionaires on this planet, Sir James (Jimmy) Goldsmith is certainly one of the most reflective, intelligent, and decent-minded. In a hostile but informative article on the newly emerging communitarian tendency, Goldsmith was described as a "plutopundit, Euro-politician" (*The Economist*, December 24, 1994-January 6, 1995, "The Politics of Restoration", pp. 33-36). Goldsmith withdrew from active business in 1990, and has dedicated himself to public endeavors instead. He is, along with the French aristocrat Philippe de Villiers, the co-founder of a new political movement, L'Autre Europe (which campaigned in France under the name "Struggle for Values") and is a Member of the European Parliament as well as leader of the new parliamentary group, L'Europe des Nations.

THE TRAP
By Sir James Goldsmith
New York: Carroll & Graf, 1994
207 pages. $20.00

The Trap, although a profound work, is quite accessible to the average intelligent reader. It is printed up in a comparatively large-sized font and there are rather unobtrusive endnotes, which do not disrupt the flow and tempo of the text. The book became a runaway bestseller when it was originally published in France in 1993. However it has not, as far as the reviewer is aware, done nearly as well in the United States.

"Nations ... cannot allow themselves to be overwhelmed by immigration otherwise they will lose their identity and cease to be nations."

The first section of the book, "Measuring or Understanding?" is a straightforward critique of looking at the world (and at the success of society) strictly in terms of the Gross National Product (or economics alone). Goldsmith points out, for example, that the very critical activity of a mother bringing up her children is worthless measured in terms of GNP.

The second section, "The New Utopia: GATT and Global Free Trade" is a powerful attack on these two latter-day liberal/capitalist dogmas. Goldsmith pointedly states: "...forty-seven Vietnamese or forty-seven Filipinos can be employed for the cost of one person in a developed country like France" (p. 26). The adoption of global free trade would therefore be utterly disastrous for the middle- and working-classes of the West, as the transnational corporations simply move their production operations offshore. But the poor of the less-developed world would not benefit much, either:

> *...one of the characteristics of developing countries is that a small handful of people controls the overwhelming majority of the nation's resources. It is these people ... who assemble the cheap labour which is used to manufacture products for the developed world. Thus, it is the poor in the rich countries who will subsidize the rich in the poor countries (p. 37).*

The GATT's effect on agriculture in the Third World will be even more disastrous, according to Goldsmith:

> *It is estimated that there are still 3.1 billion people in the world who live from the land. If GATT manages to impose worldwide the sort of productivity achieved by the intensive agriculture of nations such as Australia, then it is easy to calculate that about 2 billion of these people will become redundant. Some of these GATT refugees will move to urban slums. But a large number of them will be forced into mass migration (p. 39).*

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The alternative Goldsmith proposes is regional free trade blocs, between countries that are roughly equivalent in development. He also endorses a variant of the free movement of capital (but not of products), e.g. that Japanese firms that want to sell products to Europe would be required to establish their businesses in Europe, thus benefitting European workers. However, he also warns about the dangers of countries having excessive foreign debt-obligations, citing *The Economist* and a *Washington Post* editorial.

In section 3, "Nations, Artificial States and Populated Spaces," Goldsmith discusses the worldwide issue of nationalism. He restates the often-made point that the nineteenth-century European partition of Africa along arbitrary geopolitical lines, unreflective of ethnic realities, has resulted in incredible post-colonial dislocations. Goldsmith defines a nation as "a land whose citizens, in their overwhelming majority, share a common culture, sense of identity, heritage and traditional roots" (p. 55).

Asked whether a nation can integrate foreigners, Goldsmith answers:

> *...nations need new blood and new ideas. But they can only absorb a limited amount at a time. They cannot allow themselves to be overwhelmed by immigration otherwise they will lose their identity and cease to be nations. Newcomers who are welcomed into a nation should want to honour and respect the customs of their new home. They must not step on shore or over the border and reject the national culture. If they do, the inevitable results are hostility, intolerance and conflict (p. 59).*

Goldsmith perspicaciously turns the argument of "diversity" against Western liberals:

> *The West cannot understand a democratic rejection of its ideas. For the West such a rejection is a sign of either dementia or evil... The West believes that its destiny is to guide or coerce diverse human cultures into a single global civilization. It cannot tolerate the coexistence in the world of different cultures... This acute form of cultural imperialism is reinforced by international business, which considers that it would benefit from the destruction of social diversity and its replacement by a global monoculture hungry for western-type products (pp. 61-62).*

Goldsmith expresses profound scepticism about latter-day America. First, he discusses James Madison's surprisingly prophetic views of black-white relations. Madison had understood that such relations would invariably be very difficult. The attempted solution of re-migration to Africa (suggested by Madison) failed to catch on. (The establishment of Liberia, Goldsmith points out, also coincidentally resulted in the displacement of the native population by a tiny immigrant elite, which although itself black, behaved in a colonial fashion.) The central problem was not only the physical abuse of slavery, but also the fact that blacks had been robbed of their preexistent cultural identities and histories — a point which Malcolm X himself made in the adoption of his famous name. At the same time, Goldsmith sees it as doubtful that African-Americans will ever want to identify with mainstream America, given their tortured experience. However, he also sees that recent Hispanic and Asian immigration has only exacerbated such problems. Goldsmith honestly identifies 1965, when the Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments were passed, as a critical turning point. "They abolished the policy which, previously, had organized immigration in a manner that reflected the pattern of cultural origin already established in America" (p. 64). He points to the *Time* magazine story predicting that Americans of European descent would be in a minority shortly after 2020, and comments

> *...it will be impossible to avoid social torment. The destabilization and in some cases social breakdown of the cities, the multi-ethnic, multi-tongued population, the rapid geographic mobility which has resulted in uprooted ... or broken families, have all contributed to widespread disorientation (p. 66).*

The two main contradictory responses to this crisis are separatism — a search for historic roots outside America — and homogenization:

> *[some] have sought to eliminate diversity and to build a homogenized society by denying the existence of cultural, ethnic and even gender differences. Homogenization has brought into question the differences between men and women... Replacing the natural complementarity of men and women by competition between them*

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will change society — particularly in a culture in which it is fashionable to emphasize the individual ... [it] will further threaten the stability of the family (p. 67).

Turning to Europe, Goldsmith calls for a decentralization of the EU structures, and a greater emphasis on the nations of Europe as opposed to the centralized bureaucracy in Brussels. He is particularly against the single-currency model.

In section 4, "Rethinking the Welfare State," Goldsmith embraces the principle of "subsidiarity" which means that problems should be addressed, as far as possible, at the family, local, or regional level. "The idea that society consists of a multitude of individuals is wrong. In reality a robust society consists of families and local communities. These are the true building blocks... (p. 90).

Goldsmith goes on to make a number of proposals (e.g. for education vouchers) — some of which sound a little too rosy and unrealistic — that would try to put his vision into practice.

"This is a call for re-integrating the human and the natural."

Section 5, "Modern Agriculture and the Destruction of Society" is a relatively brief yet extremely cogent indictment of agribusiness. Goldsmith offers us a series of horrific images from the intensive farming industry. "In chicken, it has been demonstrated that since the end of the last century the carcass fat content has risen by nearly 1,000 per cent" (p. 108). Even leaving aside the profound social dislocations engendered by agribusiness, there is the fact that industrialized food production has made many food products increasingly unhealthy for human consumption (because of high levels of saturated fat and artificial chemicals), increasingly prone to disease or blight (because of the lack of genetic diversity), and also prone to new plagues of the worst possible type, which could easily be passed on to humans. (Fearsome new diseases arise especially because of the common practice of feeding these industrially-produced animals on ground-up remains of their own species.) Goldsmith is especially critical of biotechnology.

Section 6, "Nuclear Energy: The Big Lie" is an excoriation of the nuclear industry. He inveighs against "the nucleocrats." What particularly frightens Goldsmith is that there has not yet been *one* commercial nuclear plant that has been completely decommissioned — a process which Goldsmith believes will cost *billions* of dollars per facility (if it can even be done!) and which should be factored into the calculations of the actual cost of nuclear energy. He also points out that there are now about 1,000 tonnes of plutonium in the world, which simply never existed forty-five years ago. Goldsmith's views in this matter contrast sharply with those of James Lovelock, a very hard-headed ecologist, who argues that coal and oil are ecologically worse than nuclear power.

Section 7, "Why?", is the most theoretically dense part of the book. Goldsmith points to the social and ecological apocalypse looming before us and seeks to explain its intellectual sources. Among these are the Judeo-Christian tradition (which called on man "to subdue the earth," placing him above nature and all the other animals); Enlightenment philosophy (which deified science and reason), and Marxism-Leninism (which Goldsmith simply sees as the Enlightenment philosophy in a particularly virulent form).

The principal beliefs of the Enlightenment were that human reason, freed from the impediments of tradition and prejudice, can and should emancipate man from the constraints of religion, history and the natural world (p. 170).

Goldsmith reacts against the scientism, out-of-control technological development, anthropocentrism, and universalism of the Enlightenment complex. He would like to reinterpret the Judeo-Christian outlook, rather than throw it out entirely.

Sir James Goldsmith tries to move from the stewardship model of nature (which can fairly easily be read into Judeo-Christian tradition) to a wholly naturalistic vision, ending with the letter attributed to the American Indian Chief Seattle. This is a call for re-integrating the human and the natural. As far as Goldsmith is concerned the final worldwide fight for Nature (for humankind to live attuned to her cycles, rhythms and imperatives) and for history (for the sense of genuine community and identity) is just beginning. ■

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Why Import More Scientists and Engineers?

A Book Review by Wayne Lutton

At a time of record high rates of unemployment and underemployment among scientists and engineers, American businesses and universities continue to bring in tens of thousands of additional foreign professionals and graduate students every year. Many of the professionals and most of the students never go home. And, as David North points out in his new study, *Soothing the Establishment*, they often secure education and job preferences. Further, there are U.S.-based firms that use a steady stream of "temporary" foreign workers, such as computer programmers, instead of hiring American citizens.

SOOTHING THE ESTABLISHMENT:
THE IMPACT OF FOREIGN-BORN
SCIENTISTS AND ENGINEERS
ON AMERICA
by David S. North
University Press of America, 1995
184 pp., $29.50 (hardcover)

Elsewhere, former Senator Eugene McCarthy has talked about the "colonization" of America by foreigners. North confirms that this is taking place in the fields of science and engineering, especially in graduate education. While U.S. citizens are still obtaining degrees in these areas, relatively few go on to earn graduate degrees. This does not mean that they are not capable of doing such graduate work. Rather, few jobs in these fields require a graduate education. And the fields are already saturated with degree holders. As Prof. Norman Matloff of the University of California at Davis noted in his article, "Foreign Nationals Versus U.S. Workers," *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 28, 1995, last year the software industry needed around 40,000 new workers, far fewer than the 51,000 computer science graduates our universities produced (and not accounting for recently laid-off professionals who need re-employment). Yet the number of foreign computer programmers granted work visas in 1994 exceeded 30,000!

A major reason why foreigners are drawn to America for graduate work in science and engineering is because they can often secure full-funding for their education. A few years ago the U.S. Congress decided to reserve the Stafford Program federal loans for graduate education to U.S. citizens and permanent resident aliens. This has not lead to a reduction in the number of foreign students entering U.S. graduate degree programs. Far from it. Rather, American universities simply give them grants, underwritten by American taxpayers and donors to schools, that do not have to be paid back, as do student loans. Says North, "what is never mentioned in academe, is that *the further you are from U.S. citizenship the more likely you are to secure American funding* for your graduate studies in science and engineering. This pattern has prevailed for years."

And foreign-born applicants see American graduate degrees as their path for securing an immigrant visa. North reports that American universities not only pay for their education, but often pay for the foreign students' passports, visas, and travel to the United States.

Who benefits from all of this? Businesses, including some government agencies, who hire "compliant" foreigners at reduced wages and benefits. And many universities, who are keeping graduate programs afloat by filling slots with foreign students, too many of whom then take faculty positions [North suggests that there is indeed discrimination against U.S. citizens in academic hiring]. Without the continuous flow of foreign nationals, many schools would have to scale back or simply cancel some very expensive academic departments for which there is little genuine need.

North's recommendations for dealing with the situation he describes are modest and include calls for a mandatory two-year return home for those non-U.S. citizens completing study in this country; that no more than 25% of federally funded research grants for students, stipends, and post-doctoral research posts be permitted to go to noncitizens; revisions in Department of Labor certification for "professionals"; and revisions in the issuance of "temporary" visas. Yet, as North's own research suggests, there appears to be little or no genuine need for *any* foreign scientists and engineers. So why admit them? ■

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Bulletin Board

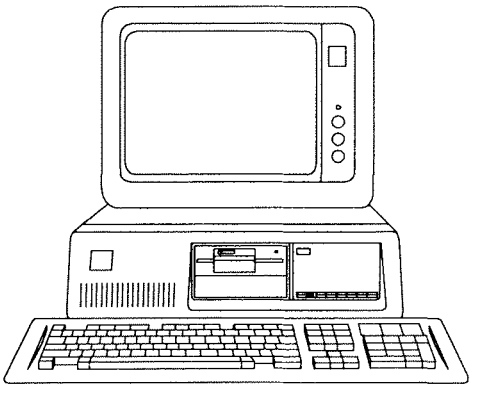
THE SOCIAL CONTRACT PRESS on the Internet

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT journal and THE SOCIAL CONTRACT PRESS are on the internet. The address of our home page is www.freeway.net/soccon/. It displays a statement of mission, information about our journal, a list of books available for sale, a file of articles from several immediately previous issues, and the internet addresses of other groups working in the field of immigration reform and population control.

Immigration on the Internet

A number of groups and individuals are coming "on line." Here are the ones we are aware of:

Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR)
fair@fairus.org
Center for Immigration Studies (CIS)
center@cis.org
Negative Population Growth (NPG)
negpop@soho.ios.com
Carrying Capacity Network (CCN)
ccn@igc.apc.org
Californians for Population Stabilization (CAPS)
caps@quicknet.com
Philip Martin (Migration News, monthly newsletter)
migrant@primal.ucdavis.edu
also at: gopher://dual.ucdavis.edu
Norman Matloff (many articles, much data)
heather.cs.ucdavis.edu/pub/
Immigration/Index.html



and of course, THE SOCIAL CONTRACT's E-mail address: soccon@freeway.net — we'd like to hear from you.

Computer and Office Equipment Sought

We are in touch with a number of activists around the country who would like to be able to access the various bulletin boards and other materials available on the internet. For the most part they are poorly financed and cannot afford to buy the needed items. Do you perchance have computer equipment you would be willing to part with as a **tax deductible** donation? The computer system would need to have at least these minimum specifications: Windows base, 4 mg RAM, 386 processor running at 16 mgh, and modem.

Also needed for the activists: copiers, fax machines, phone answering machines. If you have such equipment (or would be willing to purchase it for an activist) please contact: Robert Kyser, Managing Editor, THE SOCIAL CONTRACT, 316½ E. Mitchell St., Petoskey, MI 49770 — (616) 347-1171 — soccon@freeway.net. Please **do not** send any hardware before communicating with us — we might ask you to ship it directly to another address.

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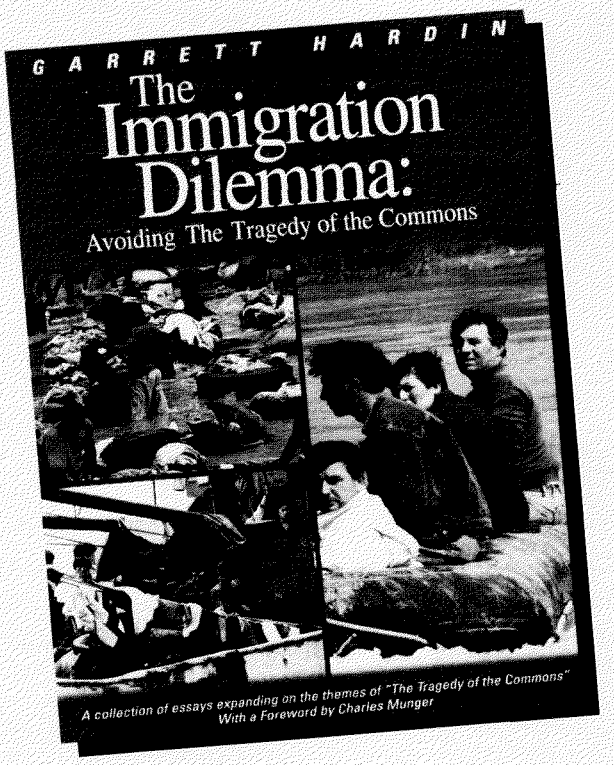
GARRETT HARDIN
The Immigration Dilemma:
Avoiding The Tragedy of the Commons
A collection of essays expanding on the themes of "The Tragedy of the Commons"
With a Foreword by Charles Munger

The Immigration Dilemma:
Avoiding the Tragedy of the Commons

The Immigration Dilemma, a new book by noted biologist Dr. Garrett Hardin is a key to focusing on immigration's "Big Picture," devoid of emotion.

The book explores how a basic flaw in economics distorts our perception of immigration, foreign aid programs are destroying the Third World, and current immigration trends are a threat to our environment.

"The Immigration Dilemma *is a sorely needed moral compass on the issues of Immigration*"

Peter Brimelow, *FORBES*

"Hardin's work has been seminal in outlining the implications of world population growth (by placing it) in the context of today's immigration crisis."

Leon Bouvier, professor of Demography
Tulane University

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